

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW

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APRIL, 1886

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THE  
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VOL. V.—APRIL, 1886.—No. XXVIII.

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THE SPIRITUAL PROBLEM OF THE MANUFACTURING TOWN.

II.

THE topics now to be discussed are the mutual relations of the corporation, operatives, and the town. Consider first the corporation.

Corporations are as old as Roman law. But, in their great number and their varied purposes, the stock corporations of industrial life are a characteristic feature of recent times, and may almost be considered a creation of the nineteenth century. In England a distinction is made between corporations, joint-stock companies, and partnerships; in the United States a joint-stock company is commonly incorporated. For the purpose of these articles it is not necessary to dwell on the importance of corporations in the maintenance and development of our civilization. The world cannot get on without them. In their beneficent uses they create no perplexing moral problem. That comes when the uses are not wholly beneficent, when good and evil work together, with dangerous liabilities and actual mischiefs. The problem is solved by eliminating the evil. But first of all the evil must be seen and recognized.

Corporations gather and concentrate power. There is no power which can compete with that of the largest corporations but the power of the government that created them, and the united power of the people, expressed in public sentiment or in political act. Singly or in combination they often control the government,—by controlling voters, by bribes or corruption in other modes, by the embarrassment produced by their multiform antagonism. Thus, by perversion, the power of a corporation may be used to secure many results not named in the declaration of its purposes. Many



other things which are not named it controls incidentally and unavoidably. If it be a manufacturing corporation it gathers workmen from all sides, of the same or of related trades. They are sometimes imported from foreign lands. In recent years more than one hundred thousand Canadian Frenchmen have come into Massachusetts. Most of them are at work in factories. They have been directly imported in colonies, or induced to immigrate by the urgent demand for their labor. Information respecting the demand has been diligently circulated in Canada by the corporations wishing to employ them. By the class from which they come, and by the nature of their occupation, operatives have some common characteristics, common tendencies and liabilities. They are massed together in a community in which these characteristics become marked and prominent. The rules of the corporation employing them and the spirit of its administration have much to do with the development and activity of such characteristics, or with their suppression if objectionable. With whatever qualities they may have, factory communities have important influence on the condition and life of the town. They affect its intelligence, its moral qualities, its political action. Corporations create these communities. For their characteristics and their influence the corporations have a certain measure of responsibility to the town, the commonwealth, the nation.

The mode in which a corporation exercises its power is, as nearly as possible, impersonal. In law the corporation is itself a person, distinct from the members who constitute it. In practice no individual member holds himself responsible for the acts of the corporation. Decisions are made by a stock vote, and a majority of the shares is commonly held by a minority of the stockholders. The directors often pursue a course not approved by many a stockholder, but no director holds himself responsible for the acts of the corporation. Practically, a great deal of power is delegated to the managing director, who is called agent or treasurer. He uses the power at his discretion, but does not always hold himself responsible. He is not acting for himself: he is carrying out a general plan prescribed by the directors. Or, as an intelligent but irresponsible servant, he is seeking the prosperity of the corporation by accomplishing the purposes for which it was organized. These purposes he holds himself bound to accomplish, perhaps by every means which is not in itself criminal, at least by every means which may be considered upright and legitimate. Incidental evils may be involved: there may be incidental but

real and great oppression. In many cases no one holds himself responsible. The corporation is a distinct person, and the corporation has no soul. It is notorious that corporations often thus do what no member would do in his private relations and on his personal responsibility. Certainly there are many corporations, in all departments of industrial life, of which such a statement cannot be truly made. They will be considered hereafter; it is to the ordinary corporation to which reference is made at present.

All great power is liable to be despotic in use. Power which is used impersonally is, so far forth, used irresponsibly; and all irresponsible power is liable to be tyrannical. Power which deals with men in masses by means of general rules, without discrimination in individual cases, is, in some cases, sure to be oppressive; especially if the rules are rigorous, and if the power is used with energy. When two parties are concerned, if great power is used by one party for its own benefit, without careful regard to the welfare of the other, it is used selfishly, and is sure to be oppressive. No positively evil intent is implied; under the conditions named, oppression is the result of selfish neglect. These are all truisms, but in their application to industrial corporations they need to be carefully considered. In manufactures, the primal and chief power resides in the corporation. The operatives are not only controlled by it, but they are dependent upon it for the support of life and for nearly all the material good which they will ever enjoy. They have learned one trade which has more or less unfitted them for any other. By that most of them must live. It is said that if they do not like one mill they can go to another. That means only that they can put themselves under the power of another corporation, while the statements above made apply to all corporations.

Individually considered, the stockholders in the ordinary corporation may be upright and worthy men, may be religious men, honored in the church for their Christian activities. As facts are, that often determines very little respecting the use made of corporate power. The character of the corporation is determined by the end which it has in view, and by the means taken to secure it. Better or worse individually, the stockholders are commonly associated together for the purpose of making money by carrying on some business in itself legitimate and honorable. The control of large capital makes great accumulations possible, and increases the desire for them. Eagerness for profits depends in part on the nature of the investment, — whether it be of capital long possessed



and perhaps hereditary, of capital recently acquired, or of borrowed capital invested in something of a speculative spirit, and on which speedy and large returns are desired. In any case, however, the corporation is organized, and its operations are carried on, to make money. That is not necessarily an unworthy aim and motive. It is one principal aim of almost every business enterprise. It ought, however, to be regulated, inspired, transformed by the inworking of other aims and motives, and by the nobler qualities of character. In private life stockholders often do thus regulate the money-craving impulse. It is the demerit of the ordinary corporation that its aim is single. Other results than that of money-making are simply not considered; they do not enter into the working purpose. But the practical effect would not be greatly different if they had been considered, and had been expressly rejected. Not seldom they are rejected when in the course of business they come to be considered. The purpose to make money is commonly regulated only by the conventional maxims and usages of business morality. In business the corporation is one party, the operatives another, the town still another. Each party must take care of itself and of its own interests. The corporation buys materials and labor at the lowest obtainable price, and sells its goods at the highest obtainable price. This is the governing principle of administration.

Stockholders and directors are the responsible factors of the corporation, but they do not come into personal relations with the operatives. None of the subtle and mighty influences which grow out of personal relations and human sympathies are exercised or received. Therefore the operative is often considered as one of the impersonal forces in manufacture, and rarely considered on the side of his humanity. It is not the business of the merely money-making corporation to care for his humanity. That is his own business. In freely becoming operative, he takes his own risk respecting any deteriorating influences to which he may be exposed. "We employ him for the work he does, and have no concern with anything further." He must know his place and keep it. He must not venture to interfere in the management of the business by suggesting that the profits warrant a larger expense for wages. Still less may he intimate that justice or a far-sighted wisdom would prompt to some modification of the principle on which profits are divided between employer and employed. If he does not like his wages he can leave work; anything beyond that is unwarranted interference in the management

of other people's business. If care for humanity or spiritual results is no concern of the corporation, still less does it devolve upon the agent, managing director, or subordinate officials. A very definite duty is assigned to each of them. The agent is to manage the whole business in such a way as to secure the largest profit. The superintendent is to run the mill so as to obtain the largest production with the least wear of machinery. In connection with the superintendent, the overseers are to employ profitable operatives, hold them to their work, keep account of their product, and discharge the unprofitable. A careful computation is made of the capacity of the mill. So many spindles or looms, running for so many hours at such a rate of speed, should produce a given amount of yarn or cloth. The speed is fixed; the product, or a close approximation to it, required week by week. One corporation is a spur to another; one mill is compared with another. Considering the amount and quality of machinery, if the production of one falls below another, the working officials of the less productive mill are required to increase their product. In the same manner, running expenses, including wages, are compared, and reduced to the lowest point. The business is carried on to make money, not as an enterprise of philanthropy.

If the work is vigorously done, and if the business is prosperous, there may be little care for conditions or results aside from these. Operatives may be intelligent or benighted, outside of the mill moral or immoral, an advantage to the community and the commonwealth or a peril to both. Inevitably representing the corporation to the operative, superintendents in such cases may be hard masters, overseers may be despotic. They may have strong national prejudices, and may dismiss good workmen merely because they are of a different nationality, and in order to surround themselves with their acquaintances or their clan. They frequently have done so, with the tacit consent of the management, on the ground that there is thus greater probability of harmony in work. But harmony in strikes is thus secured as well as in work. Some of the overseers are Roman Catholics; they may exercise their religious prejudices in administration. They may refuse work to good workmen who happen to be Protestant. They may make some Protestant very uncomfortable in his position; may allow and encourage the continual petty persecution of fellow-operatives. At length the workman is discharged because he gives continual trouble in his room, — a reason amply sufficient. Such cases have to be managed with some subtlety, but they are not as

rare as may be supposed. The facts are seldom known to the business managers, but many operatives are aware of them, and they come to the knowledge of religious friends or teachers.

It thus appears that a factory comes to have some moral quality more or less characteristic. It is not possible that any organization of human life should be without its characteristic moral quality; for the simple reason that all human beings are moral beings, each one of whom must have moral quality of his own. To disregard moral quality is by no means to be devoid of it. To insist upon the exclusion of all considerations but those of a so-called business nature — that is, the exclusion of everything not directly connected with pecuniary profit — is merely to make a poor or a positively bad moral quality inevitable. In organized life, the practical spirit of those who control it will ultimately determine the moral type of the organization, for the reason that that spirit will manifest itself in all the administration: in the selection of subordinate officials and the control exercised over them; in the care or carelessness respecting moral quality when employing and directing operatives; in the rules made, and in the omission of rules. In time there comes to be one common animating spirit, very subtle, very potent. The dominant force which determines that spirit is the spirit of the corporation itself. In some aspects this fact is continually recognized. In business circles and among operatives one often hears reference made to the different character of different corporations and different mills. By contagion and mutual influence the mills in the same town often come to have a common moral quality; especially if the same men are stockholders and directors in different mills. It may also happen that the different spirit of different corporations may make contrast of moral quality in the same town. Whatever may be true of towns, a factory is an organized unity of human life, inevitably having moral quality and moral influence. It is a moral power for good or evil, a help or a peril to the welfare of the community, a factor in civilization. This fact has very important consequences, which will be referred to hereafter.

In accordance with the aim and moral tone, with the singleness of purpose or combination of purposes, will be the attitude of the corporation toward operatives. The period of daily labor was formerly as long as possible. That made human beings mere mechanical toilers, but, very generally, corporations resisted the shortening of it. It was as long in some other employments, they said. To shorten the running time of mills in one State and not

in another would disable from competition and ruin the corporations. The State has no right to interfere with the citizen's liberty to make his own contract in labor. All these pleas were plausible; but at length the daily period was shortened by the law of some States, chiefly on the ground of protecting women and children. Thereafter, for a season, some mills started their machinery a few minutes before the legal time, and continued running it a few minutes beyond the time, on the plea that it could not be got into full motion immediately, and could not stop immediately. The gain of a few minutes daily would make perceptible difference in a month's production. Operatives were required to be in their places when the machinery started, and to remain until it stopped. Their complaint of illegality was answered by saying that, inasmuch as they were paid by the piece, they were earning money as long as the machinery was in motion. It was one of the petty devices which produce a general spirit of irritation among workmen, but their appeal to the courts was at length effectual. Then machinery was run at higher speed, and in consequence mills have turned off a larger product in the short time than before in the long time. The profit is correspondingly larger, the wear of machinery probably greater. Operatives complain of a noticeable increase of strain in their labor, because of which it is alleged that the use of alcoholic stimulants has increased.<sup>1</sup> The tension of mind is doubtless greater. During working hours the whole attention and the best service may rightly be required: it has not been made clear that the strain is excessive, or that it has really been the cause of increased use of liquors.

It is well known that the wage question is occasion of continual conflict. From 1830 to 1880 there was steady and large increase in the wages of operatives. In some industries the wages of the laborer have increased more rapidly than the profits of the employer. In factories, however, from 1850 to 1880, the ratio of increase of profits has outrun that of increase of wages.<sup>2</sup> In respect to conflicts it is worse than useless to repeat the platitude that the interests of labor and of capital are identical. That is a truism respecting the ideal state, when it shall have been reached; or it is an unchangeable law which will ultimately vindicate itself in every case of violation, whether by laborer or by capitalist. The real question is, What do the identical interests require in the

<sup>1</sup> *Report of Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1882*, pp. 209, 254, 368.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistics of Labor for 1885*, pp. 185-191.

division of profits? It is not a question to be determined on pecuniary grounds alone, but also on grounds of civilization and humanity. That it is for the interest of the laborer to work for any sum which his employer may see fit to offer is as little true as that it is for the interest of the employer to pay whatever the workman may demand. If it is permissible for a corporation to go into business for the supreme purpose of money-making, it is permissible for a laborer to work for the same supreme end. Each party makes its gains from the profits of the business. Then, as a question of money, inevitably as doom there comes conflict respecting division of profits. The larger the proportion of one party, the smaller the proportion of the other. The interests are antagonistic; the relation is one of unending warfare; and the primary control is in the hands of the corporation. If, as one party, the corporation is excused from considering the welfare of the operative, the operative is, in like manner, excused from regarding the welfare of the corporation. The corporation consists of employers acting in combination; the employed have the same right of combined action. It is said that the market should govern the rate of wages, — that is, that the lowest price for which workmen can be hired should be price for all. It is replied that the market is often manufactured, and much depends on the way in which it has been made. Operatives are dependent on their labor for their bread; some have been unfortunate, or for other reason have made no accumulation; advantage is taken of their necessities. Thus the war of words runs on.

Three facts are evident. One is that the problem of proportion in the division of profits between capital and labor is one of the most difficult as well as one of the most important of the problems of modern industrial life. Practical men and thinkers are alike groping for a solution. No one has surely found it; no one has right to dogmatize on the subject. Too much is said of capital and labor; too little of man and man. The second fact is that serious conflict respecting wages is the result of a multitude of preëxisting frictions and evil conditions. They have long existed. The alienation and bitterness which they have produced have become an inheritance. They are most serious in the Old World, and have been developed among us, in part, by immigration. They have two chief causes. One is the almost exclusive pursuit of money in industrial life. Thus it inevitably becomes a selfish pursuit, and involves indifference to the profit and welfare of others. Consequently there comes separation and mutual dis-

regard of classes ; primarily the disregard by the higher of the humanity and welfare of the lower. The third fact is that, in spite of chronic distrust and antagonism, serious conflicts respecting wages are almost always preventible. There are factories, in the aggregate many of them, in which such conflicts have seldom or never been known.

Complaint is sometimes bitterly made that operatives have no regard for the welfare of their employers. During periods of business depression stockholders go without dividends, it may be for years. Meanwhile operatives continue at work, and receive wages which, if low, are paid at a positive loss to their employers. At the slightest revival of business operatives demand increase of wages before stockholders have begun to receive dividends that give any adequate return on the investment. If wages are not raised a strike follows. Such complaints have repeatedly been mere statements of fact, with the qualification, however, that the running of mills during periods of depression is usually more a matter of economy than of benevolence. Rust is prevented, and the scattering of workmen and an otherwise enormous pauper tax. In their chief significance, the facts complained of indicate a defect in the administration of the corporation. They also form one of the strongest arguments for using every practicable means to generate a better temper in workmen. That cannot be done, say some. But it has been done repeatedly, with the result of great pecuniary gain. A prominent manufacturer declares that his operatives regard him as a personal friend, and do their best for his profit as well as their own. In another case, in time of business depression, workmen were asked to consent to a ten per cent. reduction of wages. The consent was given in three rousing cheers as soon as the proposal was made. Like begets like ; selfishness develops selfishness.

The cases are very numerous in which committees of workmen have called upon an agent to ask advance of wages or to protest against reduction. Perhaps they were uneducated men, more or less abashed and clumsy of utterance. In some cases they have been imperfectly acquainted with the employer's side of the case, but keenly aware of their own privations and of the fact that he lived in comforts which to them were unattainable luxuries. In other cases they have understood the employer's side certainly better than he understood their side. In exceptional cases, conscious of suffering, prejudiced and bitter, they have rudely made some demand. Different agents have received such commit-



tees very differently. They are now usually treated with civility, if not with courtesy; but the time is still recent when they were not always so treated. The best committees have sometimes been received superciliously and answered contemptuously. If they have remonstrated or been rude, cases are known in which they have been cursed and ordered out of the office. These last cases have doubtless been rare. In no case, perhaps, was there permanent ill temper on the part of the agent. There was disregard of a workman's humanity, and an assumption that in the apportionment of wages he had no right to be heard. These are results of doing business with exclusive regard to the pecuniary profit of a corporation. In general, and apart from other questions of character, the operative's disregard of the employer's welfare is a result of the employer's disregard of his welfare, perhaps on another continent, and for successive generations.

"We do business to make money" sometimes means "to make it all for ourselves." That is robbery, under whatever forms of civil law. For that, in the end, natural law takes tremendous revenges, or inflicts notable retributions. They cannot be too carefully heeded. A period of business prosperity increases the temper of greed, and business is managed in a spirit of speculation. There are fluctuations in every business; at length depression comes. It brings embarrassment, with the spirit of speculation still strong. In various ways crime follows, and great calamity. Had men been caring for the welfare of others, they would not have been so exclusively under the domination of the money-getting impulse. Had they been solicitous for the spiritual upbuilding of those whose lives were under their control, they would have kept spiritual principles before their own eyes, and spiritual forces vigorous in their own lives. Crime and calamity would both have been avoided. These are not words of theory, but sad statements of woeful fact. The facts furnish startling illustration of the principle that the interests of labor and capital are identical.

There is marked difference in the attitude of different corporations toward their workmen in respect to morals. Moral considerations are rejected by some, as having no place in business; others make them prominent in every matter of administration. They are conscious of personal obligation, and they have a clear conviction that moral law is dominant in the universe, so that the right must prove profitable in the end. Upon the character of individual workmen will depend no small part of the industrial value of their labor, — its efficiency, steadiness, faithfulness,



its sympathetic temper, or its reckless and destructive temper. Even more will depend upon the predominant influences that proceed from character; the moral atmosphere of the factory, the spiritual quality which has the power of contagion. It is impossible to discriminate in respect to character, say some. On the contrary, all corporations make some discrimination; it is simply a question of how far the discrimination shall go. Thieves are not employed, no matter how good workmen they may be. The names of the persistently turbulent, and of fomenters of strikes, are put on a black list, and the list sent from mill to mill. For various economic reasons, English and Irish are displaced by the French. The intemperate are weeded out when drunkenness is so frequent that it interferes with production. If so much is done without difficulty, more can be done whenever there is disposition. By many corporations more is done for moral and economic reasons combined. A prominent corporation in New England proclaims its conviction that better work will be done, and more of it, if the workmen are temperate; and it employs none who are not so. An English manufacturer, employing 4,000 operatives, has not an intemperate one among them. An Irish manufacturer began business forty years ago with the determination to employ none but teetotallers. He now has 3,000 of them, and has had unusual prosperity. A successful Massachusetts superintendent, well known to the writer, states that by varied and persistent endeavor he has reclaimed many of his subordinates from their use of liquors. What has been done in respect to intemperance has been done also in respect to other vices. Some mills are moral pest-houses; others are notably free from vices, because of a careful and vigorous moral administration. The weeding out of the unworthy, or their reformation, cannot be done in a month; therefore some corporations are in the habit of saying that it cannot be done at all.

Respecting the humanity of operatives, and its improvement in other respects than in that of morals, there is the greatest possible difference in the spirit and action of different corporations. On one side it is said, scornfully, "Corporations are organized to make money, not to improve the human race." The bargain with workmen is so much money for so much product; beyond that neither party has anything to do with the other. On the other side is the statement of a prominent and most successful corporation in New England. Many years ago it began a new manufacture, in the face of great difficulties, and of unscrupulous foreign

competition. At the very outset it took the golden rule as the rule of its business. It claims now, and has always claimed, that "the pecuniary results of a sympathetic interest in the condition of their workmen are as marked as is the physical and moral improvement of the workmen themselves." It holds that "to be self-respecting, the workmen must be surrounded with the material conditions of self-respect, and that it is very short-sighted policy in the manufacturer to make such conditions matter of pecuniary speculation." An English manufacturer declares that "education far more than doubles the manual efficiency of an artisan." Consequently, he educates the ignorant among his workmen.

There are corporations which are as high-minded and scrupulous, as morally sensitive respecting the rights and welfare of their workmen, and respecting the influence of business administration upon the higher interests of humanity, as would be the noblest stockholder in the management of his private affairs. They reject the maxim, Business is business, and has nothing to do with moral principles apart from the obligations of a contract and of legal honesty. They never say, We do business to make money, and do not mix up business with philanthropy or religion. On the contrary, to them business is a moral transaction, in which character is a chief factor, and with which are inseparably connected the highest interests of individuals and communities, — spiritual interests as well as economical. By them the management of business is held to be a sacred trust. It may even be considered a religious trust, in the discharge of which the business man is to represent the qualities of the Divine Master and the Heavenly Father. Such corporations, whether high-minded or spiritually-minded, are not too common on any continent. The world is in aching and groaning need of more of them.

It will be profitable to notice the philanthropic works of some manufacturing corporations. They commonly began in weakness; they have built up their business and attained prosperity by a far-sighted and high-minded efficiency. By their care for humanity they have avoided conflicts with their operatives, and have secured permanent workmen of the best class. Their care has extended both to material and to spiritual welfare. After his first partial success, one manufacturer aspired to establish a model town of operatives, in which "every comfort necessary to domestic happiness, every privilege of religion, mental culture, and rational enjoyment, should be equally accessible to every member of it." He attained his aspiration, with permanent prosperity.

Another built his first mill with the determination to conduct his business for the welfare of all concerned in it. From that he has never wavered, but has found his welfare in the welfare of others. One corporation has no two workman's homes alike. It offers premiums to the families which maintain greatest neatness in and about their houses, and prizes for the best vegetables and the finest flowers. Another encourages the permanency of homes and of workmen by loans to operatives, that they may build or buy houses of their own, the loan being payable in installments. For those who rent, houses have been supplied for about one eighth of the men's wages. Board has been furnished to women, with lights and washing, for about one third of their wages, and the boarding-houses subjected to careful supervision. For the sick, relief associations pay two dollars a week, the money being raised by a required contribution of two cents a week from each operative. In other cases hospitals are provided and superintended by the corporation. For mental culture and recreation, a fine building is erected by the corporation. In one part of it is a well-selected library. In some cases a tax of one cent a week is levied upon all operatives; in other cases the library is wholly free. It is in charge of the workmen, under rules of the corporation. In another part of the building are large reading-rooms, stocked with papers. A lecture hall holds a prominent place, furnished with a stage for concerts, and with arrangements for unobjectionable theatrical performances. Popular scientific lectures, illustrated lectures, concerts, and other entertainments are furnished gratuitously or at a merely nominal price. On the ground floor a large apartment is sometimes rented for a coöperative store; on some upper floor may be a room for an art school, or a club room, with a kitchen. Churches have been built; gymnasiums, with baths; a park provided for out-door recreations and athletic sports; and if by the river-side boats have been provided. In some of these corporations operatives own stock, or there are industrial partnerships, which divide among the workmen a certain proportion of the yearly profits. Some of the workmen have been members of city governments.

This may seem to be an ideal sketch. It has something of the ideal in it, but the statements are all of actual facts in England or the United States. Corporations having such a spirit are not few, but they are a minority. They are never heard of in connection with serious strikes, but for fuller account of some of them one may read articles in "*Harper's Magazine*," vol. xlv., pp. 701,

827; vol. xlv., p. 836; vol. lxxi., p. 912. At the international exposition in Paris in 1867 ten awards were offered to the individuals or corporations which, in a series of years, had accomplished most to secure harmony between employers and employed, and had most successfully advanced the welfare of working-people. The Pacific Mills of Lawrence took the third award, the only one given to America. The facts in the history of that corporation are briefly given in "Appleton's Annual Cyclopedic" for 1868, pp. 289, 290. Many other facts may be found in an English book entitled "Heads and Hands in the World of Labor." In general, in the dealing of corporations with operatives, there is a tendency toward improvement. Too often, however, improvement comes only by force of law or by urgent pressure of public sentiment. Besides the two types of the corporation that have now been represented, there are many intermediate types. Perhaps the majority occupy an intermediate position. That which has been called the "ordinary" corporation is simply more common than any other single type.

Turn now to the attitude of operatives toward the corporation. In treating the previous divisions of the subject much has been said incidentally which need not be repeated. Of course there are very different attitudes, corresponding to difference of character and mental condition. The best characters sustain best relations with employers. For the worst class careful supervision is needed; there are many eye-servants. Yet the majority are tractable; they understand that they must conform to the system of the mill, and they do conform. Not a few do better in the mill than out of it; their work there requires constant attention. In their general attitude they are much influenced by their social leaders. Upon the whole there is a temper of good-will, with exceptions.

Much depends upon the business principles of the corporation and the spirit of its administration. For economic reasons some corporations have sought workmen in the lowest grades of humanity, and employed them by preference. They are not ill-disposed, but they may be conscious of their general wretchedness, and may compare their condition with that of their employers. Some keenly feel the contrast, and, sooner or later, they couple with it the fact that continual labor only enables them to exist in privation. Thus they may grow bitter. If they have their evil and wasteful indulgences, in their thought these are their only compensation for the comforts, privileges, and advantages of the classes hopelessly

far above them. They know that in the actual condition of their humanity they are disesteemed. Some of them know that disesteem for the condition is inevitable; but if only it were coupled with some kindly interest in their humanity, some inspiration of sympathy and helpfulness! Too often, as they know, it has been coupled with thoughtless disregard. Others have too little sensibility to appreciate their condition, and they return the disregard.

Not a few strikes begin with the unmarried, who have no one to care for but themselves. They are restless, bumptious young men, tiring of the monotony of steady work, and frivolous girls, longing for novelty and excitement. Under the stimulus of some leader, they take advantage of real or fancied grievances, and pass the proposal of a strike around among those of like temper with themselves. Then they precipitate an issue, before any meeting is held, before the sensible and prudent can make their influence felt. When the meeting comes they take possession of it, hoot down their opponents, and carry the measure by bluster. They hold out in the strike until they have accomplished their purpose, or until they have had excitement enough. Meanwhile they throw the work and difficulties of readjustment upon the older and wiser who were not in favor of the strike. Such strikes might be avoided had there been the provision of anything out of the mill which would give interest and stimulus to the life of the young, and which would manifest some personal regard for them.

The labor-union is probably in process of transition. According to English experience it would be improved by the recognition and regulation of civil law. It may have many uses of mutual helpfulness; in various ways it has been used to work mischief. It has often fettered the workman; it has seriously interfered with the rights of the individual. It has come most prominently into notice as an organization for conflict upon the wage question. In this aspect it is a combination of operatives to resist the alleged oppression of the corporation, or of a number of corporations. Such combinations have been needed, and have done good service. But they have often been abused. In labor conflicts leaders have repeatedly been industrial demagogues. Voluble and sophistical, they have been seekers of power for selfish purposes, and seekers of pecuniary profit at the expense of their fellows. They have sometimes promoted conflicts to bring themselves into prominence and notoriety. They use every means to induce or force workmen into the union. When the conflict becomes intense, they are the

most unscrupulous and relentless of tyrants. Repeatedly the majority of strikers have been forced into their position unwillingly. Among a large number of workmen there are always some who are capable of violence when passions are roused, especially when liquor is furnished them, and they are secretly set on by leaders. These are the men used to hold others in servitude, and to inflict vengeance on any who are willing to work during the strike. Exceptionally the vengeance is deadly, though that is rarely intended. More commonly it is in every form of annoyance, personal abuse, and petty persecution. As far as possible, the personality of such leaders and more active agents is kept a secret from employers. If they are found out, and work is refused them after the strike is over, the union loans them money and sets them up as liquor-sellers. Or, if they prefer to migrate, it furnishes the means. The strike is more often by the spinners. Their work is harder, but their pay better, than that of the weavers. Inevitably all weavers are thrown out of work. They were not consulted; the result of the strike is wholly uncertain. But their privation and suffering meanwhile are often wholly sure, and sometimes very great. They do not wish to be idle, — cannot afford to be, and can still less afford to pay assessments. The tyranny of laborers over laborers is one of the worst features of strikes in manufacturing industry.

Serious strikes are sometimes the result of gross injustice in the matter of wages. But usually they proceed from a combination of general and special causes. There have been long-existing abuses or neglects or irritations; or chronic prejudices have been developed and aggravated into bitterness. Reduction of wages, or the question of an advance, is the exciting cause, more or less influential. But the predisposing cause was in some general condition which need not have existed, or some chronic ill-temper which might have been transformed. General strikes, especially those involving several corporations, seldom occur unless there is uniformity of work. If manufactures are diversified in the same mill, or in different mills, there is no longer a community of interest among workmen. Some are working upon one style of goods, some upon another, and the wages vary with the work. They may be fair in one kind of work and inadequate in another.

Consider the relation of the factory to the town. Reference has already been made to the influence of the corporation in creating the factory communities and in determining the quality of them. The amount of influence which they exert depends on



their relative size and on the nature of the remaining population. Sometimes there is considerable diversity of manufacture or a large commercial population. The residence of the stockholders in the town makes great difference in the general influences exerted. It does not always improve the management of mills; it makes contrasts of condition, and may develop castes. But in general it makes a better environment; sometimes a greatly higher quality of life, sometimes not as much higher as it ought to be.

In manufacturing centres many traders and artisans derive a large part of their income from the operatives. When mills pay good wages the traders thrive; at other times their income suffers. During strikes they are liable to be called upon for contributions, with presumptive loss of trade if they decline. Whatever the merits of the case, some traders are ostentatious contributors. With monthly payments, the lower grades of workmen are obliged to run up bills, and from some dealers they are sure to suffer extortion. The dealers have their excuse; such operatives are migratory and not over-scrupulous; they may slip away with bills unpaid; therefore the trustee writes, which were an unendurable burden. With weekly payments, operatives can pay as they buy, but some may find the beer-shop increasingly inviting. Almost without exception the liquor-saloons are kept by foreigners, and, in effect, many of them are labor-union club-houses.

For various reasons a considerable number of operatives are continually on the verge of pauperism. Some are permanently in such a condition; some outgrow it, but others take their places. Therefore the sums required for relief of the poor are always large, and exceptionally so under unfavorable conditions. The town or city has its official system of relief, — perhaps must have; but great demoralization is the result. Political demagogues have their opportunity and use it. They secure the position of overseers of the poor. Applicants for aid who are voters, or have voting kindred, are considered; lonely women must take their chances. Very large sums are disbursed, pauperism is manufactured, and political corruption thrives. During strikes no aid is given; but it may not be needed then, and the disbursements of the following winter will be the larger for the loss of wages and savings during the strike. Many voters who receive no aid from the overseers of the poor are ignorant or prejudiced or clannish. Political intriguers, self-seekers, and "reformers" — to whom reform means office — take advantage of all such conditions, and of all biases of nationality or religion. There comes no labor con-



flict or strike which the intriguing politicians do not endeavor to use for their advantage. The municipal government is called upon to maintain order, prevent intimidation, secure those who wish to labor in their right to labor unmolested. It is an exceptional government that does anything like its duty in such cases. There is a pretense of duty, an inability to see the need of any action, and, at the next election, an effectively pressed claim for consideration.

Aside from labor troubles and intemperance, operatives commit few crimes. They are too continually busy to be criminal, and their vices have direct effect chiefly in their own communities.

Except in small towns, the social influence of a factory is indirect or slight beyond the factory community itself. The fact is due to necessity rather than to class distinctions, though these would often be found to exist, and to some extent not improperly. The operative community commonly lives somewhat by itself. Work begins before seven in the morning, and continues till six or later, with an hour's intermission at noon. There remain only evenings and Saturday afternoons after four o'clock. Then there is fatigue, home work to be done, errands, marketing, shopping. On Saturday evening the younger operatives are very apt to take an airing on the streets. Sunday is differently spent by different characters; many make it a holiday. Operatives who are members of Protestant congregations are always welcomed at the social gatherings of the church, and are visited more or less frequently by members of the parish. The visits are often unreturned, — more often probably than is needful, certainly more often than is desirable. A morbid sensitiveness to social neglects is sometimes evident. The neglects are seldom intentional, and commonly involve no particle of disesteem. In general society it is hard not to seem to slight those who wait to receive attention and rarely themselves take any responsibility of social recognition and intercourse. For the lack of ready social adaptation they are certainly not to blame.

In two respects a factory population has unmistakable social influence. In the schools, factory children have influence among other children. For the frequent quality of it they are to be pitied rather than reproached. In the town the lower classes of operatives form a stratum of society which has a depressing effect — intellectually, socially, morally, and religiously. They form a lower standard of comparison which is not stimulating. Inevitably they have an infecting influence, felt most powerfully

by those who are next above them in quality, and by those who most frequently come in contact with them. One end of the social scale is weighted, and in some degree the weight affects the whole scale.

The religious relations of operatives to the community were referred to in the first article and will be discussed hereafter. The chief facts have now been set forth. They constitute a serious problem in civilization. The statement of that problem and some suggestions toward the solution of it will be the theme of a closing article.

*William W. Adams.*

FALL RIVER, MASS.

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## THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

[THE discussion started in the November number of this "Review," by the article of Professor Palmer, on "The New Education," will, doubtless, be continued by the advocates respectively of the curriculum and the elective system of education. The present article is in no sense polemic, and the system described is not new. This elective system has been in operation in the University of Virginia for over sixty years. Its working is well known throughout the South, but it is not so well understood in the North, and discussions of the elective system of education have grown out of the adoption of the system, in a somewhat different form, by Harvard University in recent years. The writer has thought that a plain and simple description, without argument, of the system pursued for so long in a sister university may not be without interest to educators who are seeking to find out the best way to attain the objects which we all have in view. The success which has attended the University of Virginia, and the prominence which its alumni have attained in all walks of life, are at least a testimony to the suitableness of the system for this particular institution.

This article was prepared, by invitation, for the International Congress of Educators, which met at New Orleans in February, 1885, during the World's Exposition, and will appear, in time, in the Proceedings of that body to be published by the United States Bureau of Education. It was intended to show the inner working of the university, and as a supplement to "A Sketch of the

University of Virginia," prepared by a committee of the Faculty as a part of the university exhibit in the Exposition, and containing a brief history of the origin of the university, an account of its early organization, and the subsequent additions to its subjects and means of instruction, and a particularly full account of its local arrangements, endowments, and income. Such matters are, therefore, not described in this article, except in so far as the present organization of the university illustrates the working of its elective system. The University of Virginia was the first institution in the country to adopt this system, and its work has been consistently done on the lines originally laid down, the question of changing it for any other having never even been mooted, as far as the present writer is informed.]

The University of Virginia was first opened for the reception of students on March 7, 1825, so that it may now be said to have completed its period of middle life, and to have attained the comparatively venerable age of sixty years. The system with which it started, then altogether unique in this country, continues to be the system at the present day, notwithstanding the many changes and additions which have since taken place. This system was an arrangement of the subjects of instruction taught at that time into *eight* separate and distinct *schools*, as they are technically termed, namely, Ancient Languages, Modern Languages, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History (soon, however, limited to Chemistry), Moral Philosophy (including Mental Philosophy), Anatomy and Medicine combined, and Law. These *eight* schools have expanded into *nineteen*, in some of which, besides the professor, there are assistant instructors, and of these, *twelve* are academic schools, *six* being literary, and *six* scientific (though *two* of the latter are attended only by specialists), and *seven* are professional schools, *three* being in the Medical Department, *two* in the Law, *one* in the Engineering, and *one* in the Agricultural.<sup>1</sup> Each of these schools is independent of every

<sup>1</sup> These schools are now designated as follows :—

#### ACADEMIC SCHOOLS.

*Literary Department.* — Schools of Latin, Greek, Modern Languages, English Language and Literature, Historical Science, and Moral Philosophy (*six*).

*Scientific Department.* — Schools of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, General and Industrial Chemistry, Analytical and Agricultural Chemistry, Natural History and Geology, and Practical Astronomy (*six*).

#### PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

*Medical Department.* — Schools of Physiology and Surgery, Anatomy and

other as far as its course and methods of instruction are concerned. The professor himself is the sole judge of the special subjects which he shall include in his course, and of the manner in which he shall teach those subjects. Within the limits, then, of each particular chair there is the greatest freedom allowed in the selection of subjects and arrangement of the course. One of the cardinal principles of German university organization, *Freiheit des Lehrens* (freedom of teaching), was thus initiated in this country sixty years ago.

The Faculty, as a whole, consisting of the professors at the head of each school, is the immediate governing body of the university, and controls the number of hours, and even the particular hours, which are devoted to instruction in each school; and, subject to the approval of the Board of Visitors, representing the State authority, directs what honors shall be awarded in a part, or the whole, of the course taught in each school, and what schools, in whole or in part, shall be required for the academic and professional degrees of the university. The Faculty is presided over by a chairman, appointed annually by the Board of Visitors, although, in practice, the same professor is reappointed as often as he is willing to undertake the onerous duties, which no one desires to undertake, notwithstanding the additional compensation. Upon the chairman devolve all the administrative and executive duties usually discharged by the president of a literary institution, but his power is more limited, for every question that arises outside of the ordinary routine must be referred to the Faculty, and be decided by that body. The Faculty acts usually through committees, but no decision of a committee is final unless approved by the Faculty. This feature of the university system is thought by some to be open to objections, and the more common organization, with a president at the head of the institution, is considered, in some respects, better; but the plan has been found to work well in practice, it is thought to place more responsibility upon the individual professor, and it is at least an open question whether a different organization would be better for this particular institution. *Materia Medica, Medicine, Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence, and Chemistry and Pharmacy* [same as Academic] (four).

*Law Department.*—Schools of Common and Statute Law, and of Constitutional and International Law, Mercantile Law, Evidence and Equity (two).

*Engineering Department.*—School of Mathematics applied to Engineering (one).

*Agricultural Department.*—School of Agriculture, Zoölogy, and Botany (one).

tion. Moreover, it was a pet idea of Mr. Jefferson's, derived, perhaps, from the annual election of a *Rector magnificus* in the German universities, and we are told in a paper from the pen of Professor Minor, written thirty years ago, that "Mr. Jefferson attached not a little importance to this republican feature of rotation, insomuch that at the very last meeting of the Board [of Visitors] before his death [in 1826], Mr. Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States, having been appointed Professor of Law and President of the University, Mr. Jefferson, while expressing his hearty concurrence in Mr. Wirt's appointment to the Chair of Law, entered upon the minutes, with his own hand, so strong a protest against the creation of the office of president that, upon Mr. Wirt's declining, the proposition was never renewed."<sup>1</sup> But though the rotation existed in the early days of the university, no professor having then held the office more than two years in succession, this ceased forty years ago, and, as already stated, it is customary for the Board of Visitors to reëlect the same professor as often as he is willing to retain the office. Another feature of the organization of the Faculty deserves notice, and that is, that there is no distinction whatever between the professors in the academic and in the professional departments. They all meet on an equal footing as one body, and questions relating to each department are decided by the whole body. The division of the Philosophical Faculty, which has recently agitated the German universities, has not yet been suggested here, even so far as relates to a separation of academic and professional schools, but each professor avails himself of whatever light may be thrown upon the subject under discussion by any one of his colleagues. This tends to prevent narrowness, to avoid considering the claims of one school, or department, separate from the rest, and to give force to a decision of the Faculty as that of the whole body, and not of a fractional part of it.

The Board of Visitors has been referred to as the highest authority of the university. This board consists of nine members, appointed every four years by the Governor of the State, and confirmed by the Senate, three from the Piedmont region, in which the university is situated, and two from each of the other three grand divisions of the State, the Valley, Southwest Virginia, and the Tidewater region. In the hands of this board are lodged all powers usually exercised by boards of trustees, and especially the control of the finances of the university, although in respect to

<sup>1</sup> *Jefferson and Cabell Correspondence*, Appendix Q, p. 519.

these the Faculty, at the close of each session, through one of its committees, prepares for its annual report a statement of estimated receipts and expenditures for the ensuing session, with such suggestions as it may think proper in respect to expenditures for special purposes, which statement serves as a guide to the Board of Visitors in authorizing the disbursements. This board is required by law to make to the Legislature an annual report of the condition of the university. The university receives from the State an annual appropriation of forty thousand (40,000) dollars, in return for which it is required to admit, free of charge for tuition in the academic schools, all Virginia students sixteen years of age who pass an elementary examination for admission into the respective schools which they desire to attend, or who present certificates of satisfactory attainments from some college or preparatory school. The limit of age has heretofore been *eighteen* years, but this was changed by the Legislature in 1884 of its own motion.

Having thus briefly sketched the organization of the university as regards its subjects of instruction and its governing bodies, let us consider it from the point of view of those for whose benefit the university is established, and see how it affects them. A student who enters the university is supposed to have arrived at such an age as to know what he wishes to study, or to have had directions from his parents to pursue certain subjects of study. This is, of course, true with respect to professional students, whose average age on entrance is over *twenty-one* years, and it is presumed to be true with respect to academic students. The average age of these students on entrance is about *nineteen* years, so that the presumption is reasonable.<sup>1</sup> The entering student finds at least *ten* academic schools open for his selection, *three* of which he is required to enter, unless he is of age or has his parents' authority to enter a less number. Sometimes as many as four are entered, in whole or in part, but it is seldom advisable for a student, and especially a first-year student, to enter more than three. Cases frequently occur where a student has taken up more studies than he can attend to, and therefore applies to the Faculty for permission to drop some one school. If the student is a candidate for a titled degree, he will find these schools grouped in accordance with the requirements for that degree, but the order in which he shall take up the specified schools is left entirely to his own selection. The schedule of hours is to some extent a limitation upon his selection, as, of course, students cannot enter the same

<sup>1</sup> See the Table on next page.



year schools of which the lecture-hours conflict. If the student is not a candidate for a titled degree, he may select any three schools he pleases; there is absolutely no restriction upon his choice but that necessarily imposed by the schedule of lecture-hours. Thus another principle of German university organization was introduced into this country at the inception of the University of Virginia, sixty years ago, that is, *Freiheit des Lernens* (freedom of learning). As is well known, this is termed the *elective* system in distinction from the *curriculum* system, and it has been gradually introduced into many of our higher institutions of learning. But the mistake has been made, as it seems to me, of introducing it into many of our lower institutions of learning also. We are told by Professor Charles F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, in an article on "Southern Colleges and Schools" in the "Atlantic Monthly" for October, 1884 (p. 548), that "at least *thirty-five*

*Table of Ages of First-Year Students in the University of Virginia for Session 1884-85.*

Ages.	ACADEMIC.		PROFESSIONAL.		MIXED.	
	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.
16	1	4	-	-	-	-
17	10	7	-	2	-	1
18	6	9	-	3	3	3
19	11	7	8	4	2	-
20	7	2	4	8	4	1
21	-	1	6	9	1	1
22	2	1	9	6	2	1
23	2	-	6	4	-	-
24	1	1	1	1	-	-
25	-	-	1	1	-	-
27	-	-	-	1	-	-
29	-	1	-	-	-	-
30	-	-	-	-	1	-
* [36	1]	-	-	-	-	-
* [38	1]	-	-	-	-	-
40	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total . . .	42	33	35	40	13	7
Average Age	19½	18½	21½	21½	20½	19½

Average age of Virginia students in Academic Department, excluding \*[2] as resident clergymen, 19. Total number of *first-year* students of all kinds, 170; average age of *first-year* students of all kinds, 20½. Number of students of 1884-85 according to duration of attendance: 1st year, 170; 2d, 64; 3d, 44; 4th, 14; 5th, 8; 6th, 1; 7th, 1; 8th, 1. Total, 303.



Southern colleges and universities have adopted this system, following the example of the University of Virginia." I am inclined, however, to agree with the president of Tulane University, who is quoted in the above article as saying (p. 551): "It is just as demoralizing for a college to invade the domain of true university work as for a preparatory school to attempt to be a college;" and again: "While I approve of the 'elective system' for *real* universities, I regard its application to colleges and schools as a misfortune."

The elective system as it prevails in the University of Virginia, which has never known any other system, has been often misunderstood. It has been sometimes imagined that the University of Virginia confers a *titled* academic degree for any combination of studies that the student himself may select, provided that he fulfills the requirements of the written examinations. This is, of course, an entire mistake. There is attached to each school the degree of *graduate* in that school, conferred on completion of the entire course taught in that school, which is tested by means of rigid written examinations, on which the student is required to attain at least three fourths of the total value of the questions. A student who has received this diploma of graduation in Latin, say, is entitled to call himself "a graduate of the University of Virginia in Latin;" and so for all other schools. In some schools, where the subjects are capable of division, the degree of *proficient* is similarly conferred on completion of certain specified partial courses in these schools, and in a few schools the attainment of *two* such proficiencies on distinct subjects constitutes *graduation* in the school. These degrees, however, are not *titled* degrees. The requirements for titled degrees are strictly specified.<sup>1</sup> In some of these degrees there is no option possible, but certain fixed requirements are made, which the student must fulfill if he wishes the particular degree; in others option is permitted within very narrow limits; and in only *one* — the recently-established degree of Bachelor of Philosophy — does the option vary to the extent of *one half* of the academic schools of the university, graduation in *five* schools, *any three* of the *six* literary and *any two* of the *four* scientific schools, being requisite for the attainment of this degree, which is, to my mind, more consonant with the genius of the elective system and of a university than any other one of the Bachelor's degrees. It will thus be seen that the requirements of the University of Virginia are stricter with respect to subjects for the

<sup>1</sup> For these see Annual Catalogue.

titled degrees than those of many institutions which still retain the curriculum system; which fact, combined with the high standard requisite for graduation in each school, will account for the small number of titled degrees conferred by the university. In respect to titled degrees, there is another point which deserves mention. The B. A. degree is not preliminary to the M. A. degree, as in most institutions; it is merely a degree conferred for lower attainments. A student may attain the M. A. degree without ever having received the B. A. degree, or, in certain cases, without ever having studied some of the subjects specified for the B. A. degree, as in this last a limited substitution is allowed. Again, a student may receive the B. A. degree and never attain the M. A. degree, for it is not conferred *in course*, but only after graduation in the specified schools. The two degrees have, then, no relation to each other, and, as a matter of fact, the M. A. degree was established in 1831, seventeen years before the institution of the B. A. degree, the only degree originally instituted being that of *graduate* in a *school*, which may be called the basis of all degrees. Just here I may be permitted to correct a slight error into which Professor C. F. Smith has fallen, in the article above referred to, with reference to the requirements for the M. A. degree in the University of Virginia. There is no such "student public opinion" which "holds students to a certain order of studies" (*loc. cit.* p. 549) as that with which the university is credited. I presume none would be more surprised than the students themselves to hear that such "public opinion" was reported to exist. The illustration given, — namely, that "a student who had taken French and Spanish as the two modern languages for his [M. A.] degree found, after he had gotten his certificates of proficiency [read, *diplomas of graduation*], that student public opinion regarded no other modern language as an equivalent for German for the M. A. degree, and he therefore took German in addition," — must have been based on misinformation as to the requirements for the M. A. degree. From 1832, when graduation in the school of Modern Languages was first required for the M. A. degree, to 1859 the student was at liberty to take *any two* of the four modern languages taught for his M. A. degree. In 1859 the requirement of French and German as *the two* modern languages necessary for this degree was made obligatory, and has so continued ever since. It is the Faculty, under approval of the Board of Visitors, that regulates the requirements for all degrees at the University of Virginia as at other institutions, and no "student public opinion"

affects these or concerns itself in any way with the order of studies that any student chooses to pursue. As already stated, if the student is a candidate for a *titled* degree, he finds the requirements strictly specified; if not, he is at liberty to study any subjects he pleases, and the only concern of the Faculty is to see that his time is fully occupied, which is sought to be effected by the requirement that he must enter at least *three* schools, unless special circumstances exempt him from it, and that, having entered these schools of his own choice, he attends the lectures regularly and discharges the duties incumbent upon him. If the student is a candidate for *any* titled degree, he will find, also, that no limit of time is specified for its attainment; this depends entirely upon his ability to fulfill the requirements. Of *nine* M. A. graduates of 1884, the time of attendance at the university varied from three years to six, the usual time being three and four years. The *one* B. S. had attended for two years, and the *one* B. A. for six years. (I should add that the last was a professor's son, who had entered quite young, — only fifteen years of age, — and had therefore gone very slowly through the course.) In like manner graduation in a *school* is not dependent upon the time of attendance. While a student who is well prepared may graduate in a particular school the first year, another may take several years to accomplish graduation; and cases have occurred where a student has attended the senior class of the same school for three years, and still failed to graduate. As there is no annual promotion from class to class, as in a curriculum, the element of time does not enter, and a student may accomplish his course fast or slow, according to his inclination and ability. The same standard is set for all, and it must be reached regardless of time. There is also no entrance examination, except for Virginia students who desire free tuition, — and this is of a very elementary character in each school, — so that no student is rejected for lack of preparation. Upon the student himself rests the responsibility of undertaking the courses prescribed. In the schools of Greek and Mathematics there are three classes, — junior, intermediate, and senior, — and in those of Latin, Modern Languages (that is, in French and in German), and Natural Philosophy, there are two classes, junior and senior, and the student enters whichever one, after consultation with the professor, he finds himself prepared for; but only those who complete the course of the *senior* class can apply for graduation in the school.

The class-work during the year, consisting of the preparation of

certain portions of the text-books, the writing of exercises in the languages, and the preparation of the notes taken from the oral lectures of the professor, is by no means all of the student's work. In all the language-classes certain authors are assigned to be read privately, from which reading of the senior classes one of the pieces for translation in the graduation examination is usually taken, the other being taken from the classical writers of the language at will. The pieces for translation in the graduation examination are never taken from what has been read in the class-room. It was formerly customary to leave to the student himself the selection of his private, or extra, reading, both pieces for translation in the examination being taken from the classical writers of the language at will, but now the so-called "parallel-reading" is assigned by the professor at the beginning of the session, and the student reads it from time to time during the year. In the mathematical classes extra problems are assigned for solution each week, or even each day, so that the student's original power for this kind of work is continually tested. In some other schools a course of parallel-reading in connection with the subjects studied — or corresponding private work in addition to that of the class-room — is assigned, the object being to encourage the habit of private study along with the preparation of a certain portion of the text-book or a certain quantity of lecture-notes from day to day. The proper preparation of this last also is tested by careful questioning at each lecture on the portion of the text-book assigned and on the subjects of the preceding lecture.

The student's presence at each lecture is ascertained by a regular roll-call, and if his absences reach as many as three during the month in any *one* school without valid excuse, his name is reported to the Faculty, and he is admonished to be more particular in attendance. Also, the number of times that he has absented himself from lectures in each school, and a brief statement as to how he is doing, are entered upon the monthly report regularly rendered to his parents. A student who is persistently idle and neglectful of admonition, or whose conduct is deserving of severe censure, is usually informed at the close of the session that his presence during the following session will be dispensed with; or, in flagrant cases, his parents are requested to withdraw him forthwith. It may be truthfully said that cases of this kind seldom arise, and I do not suppose that any institution in the country enjoys greater immunity from bad conduct on the part of its students than the University of Virginia. Every student is treated as a

gentleman, he respects himself as such, and conducts himself accordingly, and cause for censure very seldom arises. Supposing that the student has applied himself to his studies, and maintained a good class-standing during the year, which is determined by the regularity of his attendance at lectures and by the judgment of the professor as to the student's answers in the class questioning, — for there is no marking-system in vogue in the university, — he presents himself for the written examinations. These occur twice during the year, in February and in June, and in some schools the two examinations count as of equal value, being on different portions of the course, while in others the whole stress is laid on the *final* examinations. The professor endeavors in these examinations by a series of questions, some of which often require lengthy answers, to test *thoroughly* the student's knowledge. A list of examination-questions is often very deceptive; so much depends upon the character and extent of the answer required, and even upon the judgment of the examiner. While the professor in each school sets the questions and examines the papers, two other professors along with him constitute the committee of examination for that school, and any question that may arise relative to the examination or to the student's papers is decided by the committee and not by the professor alone. The examinations for graduation last usually from six to eight hours on each subject, though sometimes, in the case of students who write slowly, they may extend to ten hours or more. They are seldom limited to a shorter period than six hours, so that a student is not required to write against time; he is given a full opportunity to state what he knows, even if he may think slowly. As already stated, he must attain *three fourths* of the total value of the questions, or he fails of graduation, and in the professional schools the standard is higher, being *four fifths* in the Medical Department, and *five sixths* in the Law Department. Each student appends to his examination paper a pledge that he has "neither given nor received any assistance during the examination," which pledge is most rigidly observed as a point of honor by all the students. I have never known personally of but *one* violation of this pledge, and in that case a committee of his fellow-students waited upon the offender and informed him that he must leave the university, which he did forthwith. I have heard that a few similar cases have occurred in the history of the university, which were similarly treated. Here it is "student public opinion" that regulates the matter and sets the tone of the university. A violation of

the examination-pledge may not even reach the ears of the Faculty, but is dealt with by the students themselves. It is simply an impossibility for any Faculty to regulate this, and it must be left to the honor of the students. The University of Virginia is not peculiar, however, in this respect, for the same tone and practice exist in other institutions in Virginia and the Southern States, and have extended to the preparatory schools also. They may, too, exist in institutions in the Northern and Western States, but as to this I am not so well informed.

Thus by means of class teaching and private study during the year, and rigid written examinations at the close, the University of Virginia endeavors to secure *thoroughness* of attainment on the part of its students. A diploma of graduation in any school is an evidence that the student has worked hard on the subjects taught in that school, and has come up to the standard required, whether he has spent one, two, or three years in obtaining his diploma. A *titled* degree is evidence that the student has accomplished such hard work in several specified schools, and as the M. A. degree requires graduation in more schools than any other, it has always been regarded as the highest honor of the university.

There have been established, however, recently, Doctorates of Letters, Science, and Philosophy, which require that a student who has obtained the corresponding Bachelor's degree, or, in the case of the last, the degree of B. A., or of B. Ph., shall pursue post-graduate courses in *two* schools of his own selection out of those in which he has graduated. His proficiency in these courses is tested by theses and examinations, and while no limit of time is fixed, it is estimated that the completion of the post-graduate courses will require at least two years of study after attainment of the Bachelor's degree. The candidate's thesis must show independent research in the subject of his selection, and, on approval, must be printed. The effort is thus made by means of the Doctorates to encourage and reward *specialization*. The system has been in operation too short a time as yet to produce results, but there are now certain students pursuing post-graduate courses who will apply for the Doctorates in due time.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred for the first time in 1885, and it was in that year also decided to recognize the B. A. degree from other reputable institutions as a preliminary to this Doctorate, the requirement, however, of graduation in the two selected schools of the university being still maintained.



It deserves to be added here that no *honorary* degree is conferred by the University of Virginia. It may be taken for granted that any one of its graduates who writes a titled degree after his name has worked hard for it, and has attained on the written examinations the standard requisite for graduation in the several schools specified for that degree.

In order not to prolong this paper to too great length, it remains to notice briefly, in conclusion, the character of the preparation necessary for *academic* students to enter the University of Virginia profitably. Professional students, of course, being over twenty-one years of age, will enter with whatever preparation they may have been able to acquire, and will profit accordingly. From the average age of entrance of the academic students, already stated as about nineteen years, it will be seen that they have attained greater maturity of mind than the first-year students of many institutions of learning, and their preparation should correspond.

In several schools of the university no previous knowledge of the subjects taught is required, and a student may enter these schools without further preparation than is implied by the possession of a good common English education, such as the highest grade of public schools can supply, for the teaching begins with the elements of the subject, as in chemistry, for example, or moral philosophy; but some maturity of mind is requisite in order to profit by the courses taught. In judging of this preparation, then, it will be necessary to take those subjects which the preparatory schools profess to teach, namely, Latin, Greek, mathematics, French, and German, if, indeed, these last can be rightly added. I wish I could add English also, but as yet the courses in English are so meagre and so varied in the preparatory schools that one cannot, for the large majority of students, count upon more than instruction in the ordinary English grammar, and in the elementary principles of composition and rhetoric. There are some important exceptions to this statement, but I think that I speak rightly as regards the English course taught in the great majority of preparatory schools in the South, which is the chief constituency of the University of Virginia, and possibly in the North and West, — but of these I speak under correction. In my judgment, the great want in most of our preparatory schools is a thorough course in English parallel with the courses in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and of equal importance. We are not so deficient in good preparatory schools, at least in Virginia, as

one would infer from a letter of Professor W. M. Baskervill, of Vanderbilt University, printed in "The Nation" of December 18, 1884 (No. 1016), in which, after enumerating five schools by name, — one in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, and three in Virginia, — he adds: "All the rest of the South cannot add five more such schools to this list." I would beg leave to say that I can easily add, from Virginia alone, "*five* more such schools," and over, whose course is equally as high in grade as that of those mentioned, and, in fact, a colleague informed me that he could count *fifteen*. But these schools have not yet established full and thorough courses in English equal in extent and importance to their courses in classics, mathematics, and modern languages, though I look hopefully for this to come in time, even if something else must "go by the board." While our schools are doing good work, and sending up some students every year prepared to enter the senior classes in the university, they are not now equal in numbers, nor, perhaps, in the grade of their work, to the schools in what was "the golden age" for Virginia preparatory schools, and for the university, — the decade from 1850 to 1860. Then there were at least a half-dozen schools in the State, whose number of boarding-pupils varied from sixty to a hundred, and several others with a less number, all preparatory to the university, and drawing their pupils from all parts of the South. The university during this period was in its most flourishing condition, having, for at least six years successively, over six hundred students in attendance, — nearly four hundred of whom were *academic* students, — coming from all of the Southern States from Maryland to Texas. Almost all of these preparatory schools either were conducted by graduates, usually M. A.'s of the university, or drew their principal teachers from it. Having been educated in one of these schools, and having taught in another, I may be permitted to speak from personal experience of the preparation afforded, as an illustration of the school course. In the school attended we had been reading, for three years, the higher Latin and Greek authors, — others having been previously studied, — of which I recall, in Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal, Plautus and Terence, Cicero's Letters, and Tusculan Disputations; and, in Greek, Euripides, Sophocles, Thucydides, and Theocritus, — and we had written weekly exercises in Latin and Greek composition, retranslating into these languages a piece of English translated from some classical author; we had studied trigonometry and surveying, analytical and descriptive geometry, and the class succeeding ours studied also the

differential and integral calculus ; we had pursued a French course during the three years, reading lastly Racine and Molière, and writing weekly exercises. I do not now recall any English studies pursued, except spelling, which was rigidly insisted on for the whole school, and composition and declamation, — for the time of English was not yet. I cannot say that all, or even a majority, of the students entering the university enjoyed this amount of preparation, but it was not any too much for entering the *senior* classes in the respective schools, and any student who desired to graduate the first year in the schools named must have had somewhat equivalent preparation, even if he had not read quite as much Latin and Greek. I speak of “senior classes,” and of “graduation the first year,” because a student may enter the lower classes in the schools of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages, with very much less preparation, or he may even enter the senior classes and profit by the instruction given, but he will not graduate the first year. Comparing the courses taught in these schools of the university *now* with those taught twenty-five years ago, I should say that graduation in Latin and Mathematics is somewhat more difficult now than it was then ; in Greek and Modern Languages it is about the same. The preparatory schools have, therefore, now a somewhat harder task than they had then, and, with some exceptions, it does not seem to me that they fulfill it as well, but I may be mistaken. Education in Virginia, if not in the whole South, does not seem to have recovered from the great cataclysm, notwithstanding twenty years have elapsed, and a new generation has come on the scene. The University of Virginia is certainly now much better equipped for its work than ever before. Its *thirteen* schools of 1860 have expanded to *nineteen* ; it possesses a chemical laboratory and a museum of natural history and geology of extraordinary value ; its gifts, endowments, and appropriations are greater than at any former period ; and it has just been provided with an endowed observatory and a refracting telescope equal to any in this country, and excelled by few in Europe. That its students are not as numerous as formerly is due, in my opinion, to two causes, — the one, perfectly just in itself and not to be regretted but in its effect, that other Southern States are building up their own institutions, and are educating for themselves the students whom Virginia formerly educated for them ; in this they are wise, and are to be congratulated, and no lover of education would wish to see them take one step backward ; the other cause is, I fear, not so creditable to our people, as a whole, and here I in-

clude Virginia, as well as other Southern States; it is, that there is not as great a desire for higher education as there once was; our people have been occupied with their material interests, and have starved their minds; young men are growing up all around us with a mere smattering of education, but as it is sufficient to enable them to enter upon an agricultural, manufacturing, mercantile, or commercial life, they are satisfied; education costs money and postpones the time for making money, and we are content to do without it. But "the three R's" will not suffice; the education given in our public schools is very desirable as far as it goes, and these schools should, by all means, be extended; but, if we are content to stop there, it will not answer; we can never rear a cultured community on the rudiments of learning; we can never take the position we once occupied in the statesmanship of this great country, nor even hold our own, if our higher institutions of learning are neglected.

The so-called "New South" has developed in many ways, has expanded prodigiously, from a material point of view, and has extended the blessings of elementary education to a much larger number than ever before. But I question seriously whether, in proportion to the population, there are as many young men now seeking a higher education as there were in 1860.<sup>1</sup> Some who write about the condition of education in the South previous to 1860 do not know what was the real condition of affairs. They do not reflect that the higher institutions of learning in each State, and the private schools preparatory to them, were generally well attended, and that the character of the liberal education supplied by them was in no whit inferior, if it was not superior, to what it is now. While we have broadened, we have not deepened. Lack of private means, doubtless, has had much to do with this, but as material interests have progressed, this lack is being gradually supplied. The caution which, it seems to me, is now most needed by the people of the South is not to let regard for material interests override consideration of intellectual growth. Mind must rule, and mind must have the opportunity of being developed to its highest capacity if we would keep pace with the intellectual progress of the world. Our higher institutions of learning must be cherished, not only supported from the public funds, but aided by

<sup>1</sup> This view is expressed also in two thoughtful and well-written articles on "Education in the South," which appeared in the Nashville "Christian Advocate" of January 24 and 31, 1885, but the anonymous writer is rather pessimistic in regard to education not only in the South, but in the whole country.

private benefactions, and especially sustained by receiving for education the sons of all who can afford to send their sons to be educated. With much increased facilities for instruction, the colleges and universities should not lack students, for whom these facilities are provided. Higher education should be at least as highly appreciated now as it was by our fathers, or the result will inevitably be seen in the career of our sons. We cannot afford to neglect the higher education, for, if we do, it will undoubtedly react upon the lower, and we shall stand before the world a half-educated people, regardless of our most important interests. Moreover, we can never contribute our share to the literature of the world unless we lay the foundation broad and deep. Writing novels and works in the negro dialect is not contributing to the highest forms of literature. Does any of this ephemeral literature, or all of it together, deserve to be placed beside the papers which emanated from the statesmen of the past, or the speeches with which the halls of legislation once resounded? Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us realize that the higher education must be maintained, and that we must take advantage of it if we would be an educated people; that there is a higher life than the mere material, and that making money is not the chief end of man.<sup>1</sup>

This sketch of the way in which the University of Virginia is endeavoring to do its part towards securing that *thoroughness* in the higher education, which is so essential to success, is offered as a contribution to the general educational work in this country, and especially as a plain description of one modest phase of that work.

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## THE RITE OF BLOOD-COVENANTING AND THE DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.

THERE has probably never been a period in the history of religious thought in which as many important contributions have been made to Biblical theology as within the last few years. From every realm of knowledge Science, the handmaiden of Truth, has been bringing her precious offerings to lay them at her

<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that these remarks were addressed to a Southern audience in the city of New Orleans.

feet. The sciences of comparative religion, philology, geography, ethnology, history, archæology, sociology, and their fellows, seem to be vying with one another in this service. The latest, and, in some respects, the most valuable, contribution of the kind is Dr. Trumbull's remarkable work on "The Blood Covenant,"<sup>1</sup>—doubly remarkable because of the peculiar timeliness of its appearance.

Just as in so many instances in physical science—for example, in that of the discovery of the law of the persistence of force—there had for years previously been a steady pointing forward to the necessity of some such law, and more and more definite intimations of it, in the writings of Galileo, Bacon, Newton, Locke, Leibnitz, Descartes, and others, until finally their logical deductions were inductively verified by Rumford, Grove, Helmholtz, and Mayer; so there has been in modern theology a persistent and growing conviction, since the days of Schleiermacher, Maurice, Bushnell, and their compeers, that there must be something wrong with the theory of atonement that has obtained, materially unchanged, from Anselm's time. Deduction from the ethical principles of love and justice, right and truth, has started two main tendencies in modern theology in connection with this subject. As Dr. George P. Fisher has somewhere defined them, "The one is an unwillingness to rest in the idea of bare suffering, apart from its particular motives and concomitants, as if that alone had an atoning virtue. It is felt that suffering needlessly incurred, or arbitrarily imposed, or not growing naturally out of the providential situation in which the sufferer is placed, would not answer the end. . . . Associated with the tendency just mentioned is the disposition to make no point of the *quantum* of suffering, as if a mathematical equivalent were to be sought for the penalty due to sin. The juridical conception of the subject, certainly in this mechanical form, is obsolescent." In the language of the latest exponent of progressive orthodoxy, "It is no longer believed that personal merit and demerit can be transferred from one to another. It is not believed that an exact quantity of punishment can be borne by an innocent for a guilty person. It is not believed that the consequences of sin can be removed from the transgressor by passing them on to another. Conduct, character, and condition are inseparable."<sup>2</sup> The "New Theology," to which these tendencies belong, is demand-

<sup>1</sup> *The Blood Covenant: A Primitive Rite, and Its Bearings on Scripture.* By H. Clay Trumbull, D. D., author of *Kadesh Barnea*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

<sup>2</sup> *The Andover Review*, vol. iv., p. 60.



ing, according to Dr. T. T. Munger, "an atonement resting on God's heart, and calling into play the known laws and sentiments of human nature, and not one constructed out of a mechanical legality; . . . an atonement that secures oneness with the Christ, and not one framed to buttress some scheme of divine government constructed out of human elements. . . . It would make faith an actual entering into and fellowship with the life of the Christ, and the individual's justification by faith the actual realization and consequent of this oneness."<sup>1</sup>

That such demands as these, which in varying form and mode of expression are daily becoming stronger and more generally felt, are well founded has been demonstrated well nigh as conclusively as is possible from the ethical and rational principles upon which those who make them have alone been able to proceed. For the final, incontrovertible establishment of their correctness only one thing more was necessary, and that was the positive verification of their truth by induction from purely objective data, — a rare attainment, indeed, for any theological position! But, rare or not, it seems to us that Dr. Trumbull has furnished it as fully as in the nature of the case is possible.<sup>2</sup> Even if this is not granted by all, however, it will be conceded, we think, by every careful reader of his highly interesting work, that he has contributed some valuable material, of a most suggestive and far-reaching significance, not only in its bearing on the doctrine of atonement, but also on a number of other vital questions in theology. At the same time he himself scrupulously refrains from drawing any theological inferences from his data. This he leaves to others to do.

We shall content ourselves in this article with simply pointing out a few of what appear to us the most obvious bearings of these facts on the doctrine of the atonement, without any special reference to the teachings of the "New Theology," and without in any sense, directly or indirectly, pretending to represent it, as little as, on the other hand, we can presume to speak for Dr. Trumbull, — indeed, we are less certain that either will accept any of our conclusions than we are that both will reject some of them.

The substance of the rite of blood-covenanting, as briefly defined,

<sup>1</sup> *The Freedom of Faith*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> After having carefully read Mr. Vittum's notice of *The Blood Covenant*, we are not inclined even to modify this statement. The testimony and conclusions of a scholar like Dr. Trumbull are not to be invalidated by anything short of positive facts and conclusive disproof. Whether anything like this has been furnished by Mr. Vittum we confidently leave to the judgment of the intelligent reader who takes up the book unbiased by "the fear of inferences."

is "a form of mutual covenanting, by which two persons enter into the closest, the most enduring, and the most sacred of compacts, as friends and brothers, or as more than brothers, through the inter-commingling of their blood, by means of its mutual tasting, or of its inter-transfusion" (pages 4, 5). Almost the entire first one of the three lectures is taken up with instances and proofs of "the independent existence of this rite of blood-brotherhood, or blood-friendship, among the three great primitive divisions of the race, — the Semitic, the Hamitic, and the Japhetic; and this in Asia, Africa, Europe, America, and the Islands of the Sea. Again, among the five modern and more popular divisions of the human family: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, Malay, and American" (page 57). Everywhere it was based on the universally dominating conviction that the blood is the life: "Blood-giving was life-giving. Life-giving was love-showing. Love-showing was heart-yearning after union in love and in life, and in blood and in very being. That was the primitive thought in the primitive religions of all the world" (page 96). "From the beginning, and everywhere, blood seems to have been looked upon as preëminently the representative of life; as, indeed, in a peculiar sense, life itself. The transference of blood from one organism to another has been counted the transference of life, with all that life includes. The inter-commingling of blood by its inter-transference has been understood as equivalent to an inter-commingling of natures. Two natures thus inter-commingled, by the inter-commingling of blood, have been considered as forming, thenceforward, one blood, one life, one nature, one soul, — in two organisms. The inter-commingling of natures, by the inter-commingling of blood, has been deemed possible between man and a lower organism, and between man and a higher organism, — even between man and a Deity, actually or by symbol, — as well as between man and his immediate fellow."

"The mode of inter-transference of blood, with all that it carries, has been deemed practicable, alike by way of the lips, and by way of the opened and interflowing veins. It has been also represented by blood-bathing, by blood-anointing, and by blood-sprinkling; or, again, by the inter-drinking of wine, — which was formerly commingled with blood itself in the drinking. And the yielding of one's life by the yielding of one's blood has often been represented by the yielding of the blood of a chosen and a suitable substitute. Similarly the blood, or the nature, of divinities has been represented, vicariously, in divine covenanting, by the

blood of a devoted and an accepted substitute. Inter-communion between the parties in a blood-covenant has been a recognized privilege in conjunction with any and every observance of the rite of blood-covenanting. And the body of the divinely accepted offering, the blood of which is a means of divine-human inter-union, has been counted a very part of the divinity; and to partake of that body as food has been deemed equivalent to being nourished by the very divinity himself. . . . A covenant of blood, a covenant made by the inter-commingling of blood, has been recognized as the closest, the holiest, and the most indissoluble, compact conceivable. Such a covenant clearly involves an absolute surrender of one's separate self, and an irrevocable merging of one's individual nature into the dual, or the multiplied, personality included in the compact. Man's highest and noblest out-reachings of soul have, therefore, been for such a union with the divine nature, as is typified in this human covenant of blood" (pages 202-204).

Every single one of these assertions is established and substantiated by a multitude and variety of examples, illustrations, and references. In every quarter of the globe, among primitive peoples everywhere, the existence of this rite has been proved. And its antiquity is demonstrated to extend far back of the times of Abraham.

Then the third lecture is devoted to pointing out the indications of the rite in the Bible, with the repeated protest, however, that no attempt is made "to include or to explain all the philosophy of sacrifice, and of the involved atonement" (page 209). Recognizing that "we may fairly look at every Bible reference to blood in the light of the primitive customs known to have prevailed in the days of the Bible writing," we are made to see in the most convincing manner that the primitive convictions from which sprang the primitive rite of the blood-covenant everywhere else were also the basis of the sacrificial system of the Hebrews; that, in fact, the Old Testament sacrifices were nothing but the divinely authorized Hebrew form of the universal rite. "But, with all the suggestions of the rite of blood-covenanting, in the sacrifices of the Mosaic ritual, there were limitations in the correspondences of that rite in those sacrifices which mark the incompleteness of their symbolism, and which point to better things to come. In the primitive blood-covenant rite itself both parties receive, and partake of, the blood which becomes common to the two. In all the outside religions of the world, where men reach

out after a divine-human inter-union through substitute-blood, the offerer drinks of the sacrificial blood, or of something which stands for it; and so he is supposed to share the nature of the God with whom he thus covenants and inter-unites. In the Mosaic ritual, however, all drink-offerings of blood were forbidden to him who would enter into covenant with God; he might not taste of the blood. He might, it is true, look forward, by faith, to an ultimate sharing of the divine nature; and in anticipation of that inter-union he could enjoy a symbolic inter-communion with God by partaking of the peace-offerings at the table of his Lord; but as yet the sacrificial offering which could supply to his death-smitten nature the vivifying blood of an everlasting covenant was not disclosed to him" (pages 251, 252). "The blood-covenant symbols of the Mosaic law all pointed to the possibility of a union of man's spiritual nature with God, but they did not in themselves either assure or indicate that union as already accomplished, nor did they point the way to it as yet made clear. They were only 'a shadow of the things to come'" (page 258).

Finally, it is shown with great clearness how in the Gospels we have the glad tidings of the actual fulfillment and realization of the Old Testament blood-covenant symbols. Christ came, "in the body of his blood and flesh, for the yielding of his blood and the sharing of his flesh, in order to make partakers of his nature, whosoever would seek a divine-human inter-union and a divine-human inter-communion, through the sacrifice made by him, 'once for all'" (pages 275, 276).

As already remarked, the author rigorously refrains throughout from any reference to the theological bearings of the rite which he treats in so scientific a manner and unbiased a spirit. That it has such bearings, however, of the most profound, far-reaching, and vitally important character is evident even from the meagre sketch just given. Nor is their direction less plain. It is almost self-evident, and impossible to be mistaken, one should imagine, even by the victims "of the inevitably cramping influence of a preconceived theory" to which the author attributes the otherwise unaccountable fact that this universal rite of blood-covenanting has never received any proper attention from theologians.

In the first place, sin is relegated to its proper place in the divine plan of atonement. In the earliest, most primitive forms of the rite of blood-covenanting, where it represents a mere inter-union of two human lives, there was not originally nor generally implied a previous inimical relation between the two, nor their

special alienation, nor did it involve any confession of wrong-doing on the part of either; but simply a consciousness of their separateness and wish for oneness. The motives for this wish were, of course, various; though often persons seem to have entered into the compact purely for love's sake, to convert their twoness of interest, nature, and life into oneness.

When, then, the rite of blood-covenanting as securing the inter-union of men came to be applied also to obtain the inter-union of human beings with the divine, it is natural to suppose that it should have had similar feelings and desires at its basis. And such we find to have been the case. In unchangeable China, for instance, when the emperor pours out blood during his worship in the Temple of Heaven, it is not with confession of sin, nor with a petition for pardon, but solely as a means of favor, and of entrance into higher, more intimate relations with the deity. The Indian Vedas teach that "the gods themselves were mortals, until by repeated offerings of blood in sacrifice, to the Supreme Being, they won immortality from him" (page 156). "The early kings of Babylon and Assyria were accustomed to make their grateful offerings to the gods, and to share these offerings with the gods, by way of inter-communion with the gods, apart from any sense of sin and of its merited punishment which they may have felt" (page 167). So among the Hebrews. The idea of sin had no connection with Abel's acceptable sacrifice, nor with Noah's after leaving the ark, nor yet with the institution of circumcision, nor, indeed, with many other instances, until the original practice of sacrifice became differentiated and systematized in the Mosaic ritual. Everywhere the original, essential basis of the desire for inter-union between God and man was simply the consciousness of weakness, dependence, and imperfection, and the longing after the protection, strength, and perfection of God, after alliance with God, union with Him, a sharing of his divine nature and life. Included in this sense of imperfection was also, sometimes, the consciousness of sin, and implied in this longing for perfection the desire for holiness. And these became more and more definite and powerful as man's conscience developed. But still, originally at least, they were only incidental, never the sole, nor even the main, elements. So much is absolutely demonstrated by the facts in the case.

Now in this is contained the verification of two important conclusions that have latterly been deductively arrived at in opposition to that theology by which Christ is virtually made contingent

on sin, it being the sole cause of his incarnation and death, so that sin was absolutely necessary in order to the revelation of God in Christ. Sin, according to this view, is a more fundamental fact than Christ himself. What the facts show is that in the primitive religious consciousness of the race there ever existed not only a conviction of the need and the possibility of man's redemption from a lower to a higher, an imperfect to a perfect, a finite to an eternal, life, but also strong intimations of how alone this can be accomplished, namely, by his attaining to a vital inter-union with God, through the inter-commingling of the two natures, or lives, represented by the rite of the blood-covenant. However obtained, there was universally present the conviction that the human is to attain to divine nature, to eternal life. The primitive religious consciousness recognized that this is part of God's eternal plan. And all this without any special reference to sin. Man needs redemption because of his finite, imperfect human nature. He would have needed it even had he not sinned. And to supply this need, provision was made "in the beginning," "the Lamb of God was slain from the foundation of the world." Sin was, therefore, not the sole cause of this need. It was only a concomitant cause along with other causes contained in or springing from man's imperfect, finite nature. It was but a part of the entire contents of that condition of mankind which made redemption necessary, the whole of which is amply covered by the provisions of the divine plan which is established from everlasting.

None the less, however, is sin a dread reality, and an important element in the grounds of man's separateness from God. It was no doubt unconsciously implied in the rite of blood-covenanting everywhere. Among the Hebrews it came to be profoundly felt to be the chief cause of human degradation and death, the greatest barrier between man and God. Riddance from sin, therefore, became the most prominent feature in the Hebrew idea of sacrifice in the Mosaic ritual. With it all, however, the great, fundamental truth was never lost sight of, in the Gentile or the Jewish systems of sacrifice, that the blood is the life, and inter-transference of blood is inter-transference of life and nature. While, therefore, the history of the blood-covenant indisputably proves that "without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins," it establishes as indisputably that, whether in or out of the Bible, this shedding of blood was only in order to an inter-transference of nature and life between God and man; and that so man's imperfect human nature, which had also become stained with sin and



guilt, might be covered, absorbed in, exchanged for God's perfect, holy nature, and divine, eternal life. Sin as clinging to man's nature must be gotten rid of, along with all the rest of his finite nature, by his becoming a partaker of God's holy nature through the blood-covenant. This was the whole and sole meaning of the Old Testament symbolism of sacrifice. This is the fact we must accept, with all it rejects and all it involves, or else be prepared to maintain that man's universal primitive convictions on the subject were radically false, and that God in authorizing their essential forms in the revealed ritual of his chosen people emptied them of all their original contents, and divorced them from their essential meaning; — a gratuitous assumption, as irrational as it is utterly unsupported by the slightest evidence.

Chief among the rejections is that of the idea of mere expiation by suffering or death. On no point is the evidence more full and clear than on this. In none of the multitude of examples of the observance of the rite of blood-covenanting among heathen peoples, whether it were entered into directly by the actual shedding of the person's own blood, or vicariously through the blood of a substitute-victim, is the suffering or death of the same taken into account as of any merit, efficiency, or significance. It is simply an unavoidable incident to obtaining the blood, which latter alone is the essential thing. No amount of suffering would avail, death itself would be of no consequence, if either were endured in such a manner as not to yield the blood. It was the blood, as representative of the life, as the life itself, that was the sole consideration, the only essential and efficient factor in sacrifice. And precisely the same is true of the Hebrew forms of the covenant rite. "All the detailed requirements of the Mosaic ritual," says Dr. Trumbull (page 245), "and all the specific teachings of the Rabbis, as well, go to show the preëminence of the *blood* in the sacrificial offerings; go to show that it is the *life* (which the blood is), and not the *death* (which is merely necessary to the securing of the blood), of the victim, that is the means of atonement; that gives the hope of a sinner's new inter-union with God." Never was the victim slain with the purpose or intention of thus punishing him for his sins, or for the sins of him whom he represented. Never was the idea present that the endurance of pain as punishment, or in satisfaction of divine justice, would as such, and in itself, justify the sufferer and restore to union and communion with God. But ever, on the contrary, pain and death were inflicted only as the means of giving the sufferer's

life, which his blood was, to God, devoting his soul, his whole self and being, to God, and thus entering into God's divine and eternal life. Whatever significance may be imputed to the death rests upon the fact that it was the essential condition on which depended the obtaining of the new life. Thus it represents the utter abandonment of the entire old self and existence, in perfect submission and absolute self-surrender, in order to the assumption of a quite different new nature and life. However essential and significant, it remained always only a means to the great end, the satisfaction of mutual love, by a complete inter-union of lover and beloved. This and nothing short of it was the blessed end in view.

When we come, now, to apply the Old Testament symbolism of sacrifice, as interpreted by what we know of the blood-covenant, directly to the New Testament fulfillment of the symbolism in the sacrifice of Christ, we cannot fail to be struck with the result as a surprisingly complete verification of the main conclusions reached on the subject of the atonement, from quite a different standpoint, by many independent minds in Europe and America.

First of all we notice that the sacrifice on Calvary was a true fulfillment of the Old Testament symbolism, in that it supplied, even in the outer form, those elements which in the latter were wanting. While the devout Hebrew poured out the blood of a chosen substitute-victim, to represent the outpouring of the life of the sacrificer Godward, he was expressly and distinctly taught that this was only an imperfect type and shadow of the reality; that his substitute-offering was not, and could not be, an inferior being. He must be "very man" and "without blemish;" he must be a righteous and holy man. He must be what Jesus Christ alone was. Moreover, in the Hebrew's sacrifice, only one side of the covenant was represented. It was no more than the expression of the human willingness to enter into the covenant, man's longing after inter-union with God. For it was expressly ordained in the authorized ritual that the sacrificer should not himself partake of the blood of the offering, which, accepted by God, represented then the divine blood and life. God explicitly withheld this from the devotee; thus signifying that the inter-union as yet was incomplete. But in Christ it was completed. He was the "Lamb of God." He was one with the Father. In Him was "the true life" of God brought down to men. In Christ's death, therefore, the two bloods, the two lives, the divine and the human, were actually intermingled, and so the world's deepest longing fully realized.

The profound reality and truth of the blood-covenant on Calvary, then, is this: By God's love the divine, eternal life is offered to man in Christ. By man's complete self-surrender he offers and devotes himself to God in Christ. The two then inter-unite, become one. Man becomes partaker of God's life and nature; God takes up, absorbs, "covers" man's life and nature in his own. "Our life is hidden with Christ in God." This is the true reconciliation between God and man; the complete atonement, enacted in visible reality on the Cross, when the blood, which is the life, of the Son of God and Son of Man was intermingled, and made to flow in a single saving stream.

We notice that in it all there is nothing of what Robertson calls Caiaphas's view of the atonement, but which did not perish with the high priest. For even much more recently, "it has been represented as if the majesty of Law demanded a victim; and so as it glutted its insatiate thirst, one victim would do as well as another — the purer and the more innocent the better. It has been exhibited as if Eternal Love resolved in fury to strike; and so as He had his blow, it mattered not whether it fell on the whole world, or on the precious head of his own chosen Son."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, the view is distinctly forbidden that, when Christ died,

"Vengeance with its iron rod  
Stood, and with collected might  
Bruised the harmless Lamb of God;"

that his atonement consisted in his placating, by his suffering, the outraged divine justice. This was not the end for which He offered himself. Nor was it the liquidation of a certain debt which man owed, so that now

"With hearts enlarged,  
We see our debt discharged,  
Our ransom paid."

But it was to satisfy God's infinite love, and man's blind reaching out after the divine; it was simply to bring God's life to man, and man's to God, and to make them one.

There is, however, an important truth contained in the root idea of which the Anselmic doctrine, in all its modern modifications, is a perversion. Suffering death is the penalty of fallen human nature; and when Christ assumed the latter, He assumed also the former, we may say had to assume it, or violate the eternal law of righteousness. That in the full consciousness of this he yet freely was made flesh, with all that this involved, because only so man

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons*: "Caiaphas's View of Vicarious Sacrifice."

and God could be inter-united, but proved the depth of the divine love. His passion was, therefore, only a necessary incident in the fulfillment of the great end of atonement. More positively, too, it was an efficient factor in this fulfillment: First, by revealing the "exceeding sinfulness of sin." If even the Father's well-beloved Son had to endure such anguish and pain; if even in his case it could not be remitted, how great, how wicked and bad, the evil which caused it! Never was the horribleness of sin disclosed as when it caused the infinite passion of the tender and loving Saviour. And how inexorable the law, how deeply founded in the very constitution of the universe, that demands such a penalty! And the love of Him who freely, without a murmur, like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, assumed it all,—it was a new, an overwhelming, revelation of God, such as had never entered the heart or imagination of men. In the suffering Christ, God was seen by man as never before. It became a new and powerful factor in human life and experience. The triple revelation of sin, of the inexorable law of justice, and of the divine love, became a chief agent in bringing man to true repentance, impelling him to turn from sin and to God. The passion of Christ became the instrument wherewith our salvation was made possible. It did not, however, in any true sense, "justify" man. For, as Dr. E. V. Gerhart, in one of his able articles in this "Review," has forcibly put it: "When the transgressor incurs the penalty of death, the suffering of the penalty [whether by him or by his substitute] does not annul falsehood, nor make wrong right, nor change evil into good, nor convert hatred into love. In the fallen economy of human history misery and death continue; continue through the ages on earth, and through the ages hereafter, not because inexpressible miseries and the horrors of death satisfy the law, but because the law is and must remain unsatisfied. The real claims of justice are only positive, the perfect obedience of love to God and love to man; therefore the divine law is not satisfied by any penalties which follow transgressions, however great or painful, or long continued."<sup>1</sup> But by man's accepting Christ as his vicarious substitute, he acknowledges the justice of the penalty of sin; he exclaims:—

" 'Tis I to whom these pains belong,  
 'Tis I should suffer for my wrong,  
 Bound hand and foot in chains;

<sup>1</sup> *The Andover Review*, vol. iii., p. 410. Comp. also Malford: *The Republic of God*, p. 190.

Thy scourge, thy fetters, whatsoever  
Thou bearest, 't is my soul should bear,  
For I have well deserved such pains."

He submits reason, will, and his whole being to the divine righteousness, in humble penitence and tearful love. He can be forgiven. As it is expressed by progressive orthodoxy: "It is true, then, that Christ suffered for our sins, and that because He suffered our sins are forgiven. But the suffering was borne because it lay in the path to redemption. The realization of God's love in Christ was possible only through the suffering and death of Christ; and because He suffered and died in bringing the knowledge and love of God to men it is no longer necessary that men should suffer all the consequences of sin. The ethical ends of punishment are more than realized in the pain and death of the Redeemer, through whom man is brought to repentance. His death is a new fact, an astonishing, revealing, persuasive, melting fact, in view of which it would be puerile to exact literal punishment of those who are thereby made sorry for sin and brought in penitence to God. But it is all inseparable from repentance or appropriation."<sup>1</sup>

But forgiveness itself is not the end of Christ's sacrifice, is not atonement. It is also only one of the conditions. And it is itself conditioned by faith. For it is by faith that man appropriates Christ as his vicarious substitute. We say faith appropriates Christ; not only his suffering and dying, nor only the results of his sacrifice, but himself, his whole life and nature. Only such a faith makes Him a more real substitute and representative than were the animals slain in heathen and in Hebrew sacrifices. It identifies his essential character and nature as perfect man with its own, enters into his mind, thoughts, sentiments, principles, and into his obedient, self-denying, holy will. It accepts these for its own, makes them in every sense to be its own. In a word, it constitutes Christ its true vicar, the executor of its sentiments, purposes, and will. So that, not only when he patiently and obediently endures the penalty of sin does every soul, by faith thus identified with him, submit in the same spirit to the righteousness of the law, but when he pours out his life to God in perfect love, it is an actual presentation, also, in spiritual reality, of the essential life of every believer thus identified with him. With the life of the vicarious substitute goes out the mind, and will, and heart, the body, soul, and spirit, as a "living sacrifice, holy, ac-

<sup>1</sup> *The Andover Review*, vol. iv., pp. 64, 65.

ceptable unto God," of him whose executive Christ has become. With his death our old self dies, and the new self begins to live; "because we thus judge, that one died for all, therefore all died; and He died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but unto Him who for their sakes died and rose again."

Such a faith alone has any ethical and practical worth and power. We are justified by it; because by it we are "born again," since "if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new." Mere punishment of sin, as we just saw, cannot justify the sinner. Neither does mere forgiveness do so. But repentance and faith, by which we actually "put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new;" by which our will is utterly surrendered to Christ's holy will, which thenceforth becomes our sole will, and his righteous life our life, until it is no longer we that live, but Christ that liveth in us. This actually makes our will and character essentially just; so that God need not regard and act toward us as if we were righteous while we are not, but as righteous because of the righteousness of Christ that really is in us, appropriated by faith when we put his mind and will and whole life in place of our own. And his life is God's life; "for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

The practical substitution of Christ in our stead, by faith, is, consequently, a positive ethical process, at once an offering of ourselves to God in Him, and a receiving into ourselves of the God-life offered in Him. The inter-flowing of the divine and human life-blood on the Cross, alone and once for all, made this possible and available to all by faith. God's infinite love is satisfied, and man's infinite need supplied. Lover and beloved are made one. The pure and holy life of the heavenly flows, a steady stream, covering, cleansing, vivifying the sinful, death-smitten nature of the earthly. All the imperfection and weakness of the human are taken up and absorbed in the absolute perfection and strength of the divine. "It is in this truth of truths," to use, in closing, the final words of our author, "concerning the possibility of an inter-union of the human life with the divine, through a common inter-bloodflow, that there is found a satisfying of the noblest heart-yearnings of primitive man everywhere, and of the uttermost spiritual longings of the most advanced Christian believer in the highest grade of intellectual and moral enlightenment. No attainment of evolution, or of development, has brought man's



latest soul-cry beyond the intimations of his earliest soul-outreaching:—

‘Take, dearest Lord, this crushed and bleeding heart,  
And lay it in thine hand, thy pierced hand ;  
That thine atoning blood may mix with mine,  
Till I and my Beloved are all one.’ ”

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## THE POSSIBILITIES OF RELIGIOUS REFORM IN ITALY.

### II. THE REFORMERS OF THE PAPACY.

WHEREVER and whenever history reveals the elements of radical reaction from and against any long-established institution, which, with whatever corruptions, is yet strong in acknowledged excellences of its own, there, we may be well assured, are also to be found those who would gladly bring about important conservative reforms in that institution itself,—some such readjustment of its relations with the times and with the new conditions of society as would secure and preserve it.

The very fact, then, that there are Italians prepared to receive Protestant evangelizing even at the hands of foreigners is in itself enough to raise a strong presumption that there must be some, among the most devoted adherents of the Catholic Church in Italy, and even of the papacy, who would advocate reform. In other words, a Gavazzi and a De Sanctis imply a D' Andrea and a Curci.

We are logical, therefore, in turning from the consideration of those who seek for Italy a reformed religion, wholly apart from the church of the past, to those who have sought by an honest, earnest effort to bring about in the papal system itself such reforms as would restore harmony between the papacy and the new kingdom of Italy, and adjust the Church, although still under papal government, to the great social and political revolutions of the last pontificate.

But is the papacy reformable? That, before the Council of the Vatican, we must not forget, was at least an open question in the Church.

Certainly, the Great Powers, when they addressed to Gregory XVI. the Memorandum of 1831, assumed that the papacy was not only competent to reform its secular administration, but that

it was bound to conform itself, *in temporalibus*, to the exigencies of Europe and of the times. Certainly, Gioberti and Rosmini held that there were both room and power for very material reforms in the practical working of the papal system, or the one would not, in 1843, have found a place for the papacy in his scheme of a free, constitutional Italian confederation; nor the other, in 1846, have dedicated to the Pope his "Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa." Certainly, Pius IX. when, in 1848, he offered to Rosmini a cardinal's hat could not have thought him, reformer though he was, worthy of severe condemnation; nor yet, when he called Count Terenzio Mamiani to make, as his prime minister, an attempt to organize lay government for the States of the Church, on the principles of free, constitutional, secular politics, could he have deemed the papal system too sacred for reform.

What Pius IX. came, afterwards, to think of such reformers, the world does not now need to be told in much detail. Instead of being raised to the purple, Rosmini was forced to feel the heaviest displeasure of the Church. Instead of carrying out the reforms counseled in 1831, the Pope replied "*Non possumus*," and summoned a so-called Ecumenical Council to declare him and all his predecessors, to say nothing of those yet to come after him, infallible.

The possibilities of reform in the papacy are, then, not to be sought in the Pope, nor yet, indeed, in the story of anything like a *movement*; but rather, in that of a succession of a few notable individuals, who, in their several personal experiences, fairly and fully illustrated the probabilities of such reform. Of these, it will be sufficient to cite the most eminent: two cardinals of the Church, two or three of her most distinguished theologians, and a deservedly revered lay statesman and philosopher.

1. The learned Jesuit theologian, *Carlo Passaglia*, was, in 1854, selected by the Pope to prepare an elaborate defense of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. His great work, in three quarto volumes, was printed at the Roman Propaganda. His portrait is yet seen on the walls of the Vatican, in Podesti's historical fresco commemorative of the proclamation of that new dogma.

In less than eight years after, this very Passaglia was denounced in the most unmeasured terms by the organs of the papacy; his papers were seized by the authorities of the Inquisition, and he himself only barely escaped from Rome to Turin. He had counseled the renunciation of the temporal power. At Turin, he drew up an address to the Pope which, while fully rec-

ognizing his spiritual supremacy, prayed him, for the sake of the religious interests intrusted to the papacy, to reconcile himself to Italy, yielding Rome to be its capital; and further, declaring that "there is no temporal and spiritual evil which is not to be feared, nor national and religious good reasonably to be hoped," so long as the ecclesiastical interests of the Church continue to be opposed to the political welfare and unity of the state. This address Passaglia sent over all Italy for signatures, of which — under the assurance of civil protection from the Ricasoli ministry, then in power — no less than nine thousand were obtained, nearly twelve hundred being those of dignitaries of the Church. The whole document, petition, and names in full, with a preface by Passaglia, was published at Turin in volume form.

But though Passaglia was, theologically speaking, Rome's right hand, she was ready to cut it off and cast it from her. He was promptly interdicted from preaching or from the discharge of any religious function; and he and every one of his nine thousand who did not at once withdraw his signature were declared to have incurred excommunication. Rattazzi, into whose hands the government had passed, refused to recognize any obligation to protect these priests, and far the greater part, one by one, reconciled themselves with the Church as best they might.

Passaglia, almost alone, did not submit. The next spring, elected to a seat in Parliament, he made an earnest effort to arouse that body to realize the true nature of the struggle between Italy and the papacy, and to require from the bishops and other functionaries of the Church oaths of civil allegiance, to counter-balance those they were now required to take to the Pope. It was in vain. The Italian government refused to sustain his endeavors. He was not personally reconciled to the papacy; but he was abandoned by the civil authorities, and was silenced, and his attempts effectually defeated.

2. On the evening of Monday March 16, 1857, there was a brilliant reception at the Palazzo di Venezia, the official residence of the Austrian ambassador, at which the attention of the writer, who was present, was called to one of the youngest of the cardinals, *Girolamo D' Andrea*. A contemporary memorandum speaks of his "fresh intellectual countenance and large, full eyes." He was then forty-five years old; the son of a Neapolitan patrician whom Ferdinand II. had ennobled; an elegant gentleman in manners and carriage; a scholarly ecclesiastic, of unblemished character. He had served the Church by his tact in the restoration

of the papal government in Umbria, after the troubles of 1849, and as Apostolic Nuncio to Switzerland. He was Prefect of the Congregation of the Index, and Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, and so in the very front rank of the Sacred College. But it was even then suspected that he was too much inclined to liberal opinions for his own interests.

During the subsequent revolutionary period of 1859-61, when the writer lived in Rome, Cardinal D' Andrea was not known to separate himself from his colleagues in respect either to secular politics or to the ecclesiastical interests then so seriously at stake.

When, however, the publication of the Encyclical and Syllabus of December 8, 1864, was under consideration, the cardinal was forced by bitter Jesuit intrigue and opposition to resign the Prefecture of the Congregation of the Index, for which it was not strange that they regarded him unfit, if there were any ground for charging him—as the cardinal reported it—with “having conceded, nay, wished, the fullest liberty of writing and of discussing any subject whatever, without human constraint.”

At this time Cardinal D' Andrea's health was seriously impaired, and his physicians warned him that he could not safely remain in Rome, but *must* return to his native air. After formally asking the consent of the Pope again and again, and ever in vain, early in the year 1865 he abruptly departed without that consent, and established himself in Naples. The fact that, very soon thereafter, he paid his respects in person to Prince Umberto, who visited Naples at that time, and again at a later day to the king himself, with both of whom he entered into earnest conversation concerning the reconciliation of religion and the state, was conclusive evidence at Rome that politics rather than considerations of health had prompted this defiant step.

Cardinal D' Andrea was, accordingly, peremptorily summoned back to Rome; and, in consequence of his continued non-obedience, first his income as a cardinal was withheld, and then, on June 12, 1866, he was deprived of his offices of Bishop of Sabina and Abbot of Subiaco. To these measures, and to the harsh language in which he was notified of them, the cardinal responded, in September, 1865, with a letter of explanations and self-defense, addressed to his fellow cardinals and bishops; in the November following, with a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese; in March, 1866, with a letter of protest to the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College; and, after his deprivation, a short letter of protest declaring that sentence null and void, and a

long and both able and bold appeal to the Pope under date of July 6, 1866.

"The affair of the Cardinal D' Andrea," involving, as it did, some serious questions as well canonical as religious and political, became now the subject of very bitter and wide-spread discussion. A spirited pamphlet, summing up the story of his contest with the Pope and Antonelli, appeared in France, and was at once translated and published in Florence, while Padre Passaglia, from his retirement at Turin, published a ponderous Latin volume, "*Per Causa Italica*," in defense of the cardinal.

Cardinal D' Andrea was now looked upon by not a few, on either side, as the probable leader of a coming reform movement. He gave occasion for this, designedly or not, by sending some of the above-cited letters, and especially his "Appeal to the Pope better informed," for publication in the "*Esaminatore*," the Florentine organ of avowed Catholic reformers, to whose director he also wrote two letters for publication, and others of a more personal character. These latter the writer has seen, and they certainly expressed no disapproval of the principles and objects of that journal. Exaggerated rumors, indeed, attributed to him the most daring designs, — no less, for instance, than that of calling together a national council to inaugurate an anti-papal Italian Church, of which he would accept the primacy.

And yet, whatever may have been his reserved intentions, or to whatever issue the course of events might have thereafter carried him, Cardinal D' Andrea had given no one a public right to charge him with any purpose of separating himself from the Catholic Church or even from the Roman papacy.

He was an Italian patriot. His earlier convictions, like those of the Pope himself, had been favorable to the Giobertian scheme of a confederacy of which the Pope should be the honorary president. But that combination having now become impossible, he frankly declared that the Church found herself "in presence of a series of accomplished facts which she could in no wise afford to undervalue;" and that it was due alike to Italy and to the highest interests of religion that the Church should reconcile herself with the Italian government on the basis of those facts. In other words, Cardinal D' Andrea stood in 1866, in this matter, precisely where Passaglia had stood in 1862, and where Padre Curci has stood since 1878.

But more and far more than this was the implied impugning of the *spiritual* supremacy of the Pope, of which the cardinal

was guilty in the language of his appeal of July 6th. In this document he plainly declared that "blind and unlimited obedience is reserved to the blessed God alone and to his Christ;" that the Pope's episcopal *confratelli* were "his equals, so far as divinely instituted order is concerned; his inferiors only in jurisdiction, according to limits established by the ecumenical councils;" and that a bishop was "set to rule the Church, not by man, but by the Holy Spirit, and that there is no dignity more sublime nor more independent upon earth." In a letter to the "Esaminatore," of somewhat earlier date, he had, moreover, declared that the most salutary remedy for the evils which afflicted the church and the civil community would be the convocation of a "real Ecumenical Council in all the force of the words." It will be remembered that this was more than two years before the convocation of the Council of 1869, and long before this had been even decided on by the Vatican.

Such was the position of Cardinal D' Andrea when, in May, 1867, the writer called upon him, by appointment, at his rooms in the Hotel Crocelle, Naples. In the course of a conversation, which had at the time something of an almost confidential character, the cardinal gave open expression to his longing for a reform of the Church, *in capite et membris*, and also for that restoration of Christian unity which such a reform would bring after it. He inquired, apparently with great interest, of the then approaching first Lambeth Conference, and expressly said that he advocated not only the assembling of a truly ecumenical council for the actualization of all needed Catholic reforms, but also that such an invitation to take part in it should be given to the Russo-Greek and the Anglican bishops as they could consistently accept.

Soon after this, however, an ultimatum came from Rome, ordering his return thither within six months, under penalty of degradation from the cardinalate.

Cardinal D' Andrea was a true Italian patriot in politics. He was as certainly a most liberal ecclesiastical statesman. He was a man of broad ideas and of a large heart. But his reforming principles did not draw their inspiration and their power from the highest source. It was not to him, in the words of the Baron Ricasoli, "an imperative necessity of conscience to take his stand before God and man in such a cause," nor was his that "enthusiasm of religious faith that is willing to bear everything and to dare everything for the truth." He told his friends in Naples that he was going to his death; he warned them not to give cre-



dence to any statements afterwards made about him. He returned to Rome in November, 1867, and soon after his humiliating retraction and apology for his whole course, for what he had written from Naples, and especially for his relations with the "Esaminatore," was published under date of December 26th.

Looked at quietly and reasonably, what does such a retraction and submission amount to? It does not alter one fact. It does not unsay or blot out one word which had already been spoken or written by him. It gives no one the slightest reason to think that he came really to believe that he had been in the wrong. Cardinal D' Andrea's witness remains now what it was up to that date. His submission only shows that one whose personal convictions could ripen into such language, whose intellect and conscience had risen thus far out of and above the traditions of his office and his surroundings, was not also able wholly to emancipate himself from the power to which his whole life had been in bondage.

On the 14th of May, 1868, Cardinal D' Andrea died, not without accusations of poison. This was, however, an unnecessary charge. He had been crushed in the iron grasp of the papal system. His health had failed rapidly from the time of his return to Rome, and his death followed immediately upon exciting and cruel interviews, for which he was utterly unequal, with the Pope and Cardinal Antonelli.

3. It would, undoubtedly, be going too far to say that Cardinal *Gioacchino Pecci*, at the time of D' Andrea's death Archbishop of Perugia, concurred with the latter in his political and ecclesiastical views and principles as they have been just set forth. And yet D' Andrea left behind him no one of his colleagues of the Sacred College more obnoxious to Antonelli on the same general grounds than this same Cardinal Pecci.

Cardinal Pecci was a man of affairs and a diplomatist. He had enjoyed a large and varied experience, and as Nuncio to Belgium he had lived in habits of personal intimacy and of mutual confidence with the Protestant King Leopold I. But since his recall to Italy his liberal opinions had been inferred from negative evidence rather than betrayed by positive acts or language. He held aloof, so far as possible, from the papal court. He occupied himself solely with his studies and his duties to his diocese, which he administered with exceptional faithfulness and toleration. His official utterances were more noteworthy for what he did not say than for any explicit declarations on the subject of needed reforms. In his pastorals he seemed to be concerned only for the

religious needs of his flock, his language breathing a most evangelical spirit. He was, indeed, wanting in aggressive combativeness, but if there was any one to whom those who had sanguinely looked for a reformer in D' Andrea could have transferred their hopes, it was the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia: if there was a member of the Sacred College who would have been thought, by most persons, the most unlikely of all to receive the suffrages of his brother cardinals, it was Gioacchino Pecci.

And yet, in 1874, the writer was dining with an Italian senator intimately familiar with the secrets of Italian politics, when, in the course of conversation about the possibility of material changes in the temper of the papacy after the death of Pius IX., he asked significantly: "Suppose Pecci should be elected Pope?"

There were, then, grounds, as it would seem, for anticipating such an event, which could, at that time, have been regarded only as equivalent to a reaction from the policy of Pius IX., and the inauguration of papal patriotism and reform. Difficult as it is to account for such a result of the Conclave of 1878, it has been very plausibly suggested that Cardinal Pecci was raised to the papacy in the trust that, while his known liberality would disarm much hostility *in limine*, yet that the system was stronger than any man, — especially than one of a temper so moderate, — and that, whatever he might have proved as a cardinal, he would be far more easily controlled as Pope.

That Cardinal Pecci entered upon his pontificate with the purpose of promoting a genuine reformation of the papacy is beyond question. "He also had illusions," says an Italian ecclesiastic, "to make peace, to reconcile the Holy See with the European Powers, to raise up learning, to reform the clergy, the bishops, and the College. Holy purposes! But time was wanting, physical strength was wanting, and the Holy Father has fallen into the hands of the fanatics, who have embittered his spirit." "Leo XIII.," writes Curci, "from a noble idea of repairing his predecessor's errors, made the position doubly, nay, tenfold more difficult for himself, when, on his first reception of the College of Cardinals, he declared his intention of governing the Church according to ancient usage, pledging himself to regard their counsels. He did not reflect, perhaps, that a system of abuses, arbitrarily introduced, and now enforced by custom, is not to be uprooted otherwise than by arbitrary measures. Had this been done at the first, the design of governing the Church according to ancient usage would have been, not only a just, but a most fitting

sequel. Without it, his noble deference to the judgment of others merely caused the sacrifice of many of his most happy inspirations, which, among a different set of men, would have been beneficial and productive of good. This was particularly the case in the first direction given to the relations between the See of Rome and New Italy, — a direction given, not according to the inspiration of his own mind and heart, but such as was forced upon him by the influences of those to whom he considered it his duty to defer. . . . I have good ground," continues Curci, "for thinking that he had not only devised a healing policy, but had even prepared to publish it to the Catholic world in his first encyclical letter issued on his attaining the pontificate: but that happy and holy inspiration, which would have pacified Italy and given a new and fruitful direction to her religious life, was suffocated and rendered barren by the causes above sketched. . . . It was afterwards known that that first letter had been set aside by the nearly unanimous dissent of the cardinals, and by the dislike shown to it by most of the prelates, and by the Curia."

Thus was the confidence in the papal system, upon which Cardinal Pecci was, probably, made Pope, justified by the result.

But, however far the pontificate of Leo XIII. may fall short of even such a papal reform as he would himself have desired, surely some of his efforts and some of his appointments, — for instance, that of the learned and candid Benedictine Tosti to be sub-librarian of the Vatican, — and especially his zealous endeavors to promote the higher education of the clergy, go far to vindicate his claim to be held as one who has at least sought to save the Church by the reformation of the papacy. No utterance of his, at any time, has been more worthy of such an aim than his late *All Saints Evangelical*. Neither the text, nor any trustworthy translation of the document in its entirety, has, at the present writing, been given to the American public; but, so far as can be judged from such extracts as have come to hand, and from comments based upon an examination of the text, it would seem, fairly judged in the light of the times and of the circumstances in which the Pope is placed, to sustain the claim here made, that Leo XIII. is one who would gladly be, were it practicable, a reformer of the papal system of his Church. By so much has he helped to demonstrate that the system is an *irreformable anachronism* in the Church of Christ.

4. We pass now to one who approached the subject of the reformation of the papacy under very different conditions, — the

Count *Terenzio Mamiani*, the Pope's prime minister in 1848, afterwards Minister of Public Instruction in the cabinet of Cavour, and since the distinguished publicist, author, and philosopher, and President of the Senate of Italy.

Count Mamiani's experience in 1848 made him an intelligent, earnest, and devout advocate of reform. In 1862 he published a little work, — "*Il Rinascenza Cattolica*," — which illustrated his programme of needed reformation at that time. Writing anonymously, and in the character of a missionary returning to Rome after a long absence and imprisonment in Japan, he describes the changes which had, in the mean time, taken place. In this manner the author set forth his ideal of the reforms which should be effected in the papal system. He accepted the papacy itself, but rather as the bishopric of Rome, the Italian primacy, and the centre of ecumenical unity. The civil power transferred to the King of Italy; the Italian Parliament sitting at the capital; the bishop chosen by the free suffrages of the clergy and his people, and released from all secular cares and entanglements, devoting himself solely to the spiritual welfare of the Church, "to the glory of God, the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls:" this dream of a reformed, and, indeed, marvelously transformed, papacy was developed with considerable fullness and with great attractiveness of style.

The papacy replied to these proposals for a *rinascenza cattolica* by putting this little volume in the Index. Count Mamiani was not a cardinal, nor even a priest, and he could neither be summoned to Rome nor reached by a sequestration of his income nor by the threat of degradation. A lay religious or ecclesiastical reformer was an anomalous and awkward character. He was not tangible. He could not be dealt with. All that could be done was to convince him that his dream of a reformed papacy, to be wrought out by and with the coöperation of the papacy itself, was, indeed, a dream; and that, if reform there is to be at all, it must be an anti-papal or a depapalizing reform of the Church.

This was effectually done. In 1867 Count Mamiani was found one of the most influential moral sponsors of the "*Esaminatore*," and if not a sanguine, yet an earnest advocate of reform in the Church of Italy. In this character he could, in October, 1870, thus express himself: "Romanism has, at last, produced in Italy three deplorable results, — and those are, superstition in the lowest populace, indifference in the other classes, infidelity in the

greater part of thinkers and writers. At all events," he added, with reference to the grounds of hope before Italy, "at all events, the first thing to remove, to make a Catholic reform possible, was to break down the *temporal power*, and Providence has made us the happy witnesses of this great event."

The Count Mamiani of the last fifteen to eighteen years was, therefore,—as already stated in a former article (*"Andover Review,"* August, 1884, p. 167),—not to be reckoned among those who merely sought a reformation of the papacy, but rather among the more advanced Catholic reformers of the Church. For some time, however, he lived a retired life, and he died but a few months since.

5. There is another of these would-be reformers of the papal system of whom something must, of whom much might, be said, *Guglielmo Audisio*, Professor in the Theological Faculty of the University of Rome, Canon of St. Peter's and Domestic Chaplain to King Victor Emmanuel.

On the ground of some personal acquaintance with him in 1873 and 1874, the writer feels at liberty to say that there was a substantial harmony between his ecclesiastical philosophy and his conceptions of the Church of Christ, and those which underlie the principles and organic polity of the American Episcopal Church.

In 1877 Canon Audisio published a volume "*Of Political and Religious Society in the Nineteenth Century*," a treatise, says an Italian writer, "burning with noble thoughts," which would have turned "into noble deeds, but for fear of the iron crozier of Rome." It made a profound sensation, largely due to the known purity of character and sound catholicity of its author; but it was, of course, promptly condemned. "The distinguished theologian bowed his head," and he has since passed away beyond the reach of the Congregation of the Index and the Jesuits. But the volume he has left behind him remains with the influence of its "pleasant smile and noble melancholy—so calm, serene, persuading, and elevated"—to educate the Italy that is to be.

6. The heaviest blows, however, which have been dealt the papacy in these latter days of ours have fallen from the strong right arm of *Carlo Maria Curci*.

The name of this sturdy champion of the Church was first known to the writer five-and-twenty years ago as—whether in the pulpit or with the pen—the ablest Jesuit controversialist of his time. He was the founder and, for some sixteen years, the leading writer of the "*Civiltà Cattolica*," the organ of the most

uncompromising and audacious school of ultramontane Romanism; a periodical which, under his direction, attained a subscription list of some fourteen thousand names, and which Pius IX. esteemed so highly that he provided, by special brief, for its permanence as the authoritative voice of the Vatican. When, toward the end of 1859, the political pamphlet "*Le Pape et le Congrès*" appeared, Padre Curci was appointed to answer it, and indignantly to denounce even the suggestion that the Pope could consent to the cession of the Romagna, or of any part of the territory which he held in trust for the Church. What visionary of that day was so daring as to dream that this very Curci would come to urge upon the Pope that it was his solemn duty to do this very thing, — nay, to give up all, even Rome itself? No Advent or Lent preacher at Il Gesù drew such crowds of the most fanatical devotees of the papacy. In fact, no one who remembers Rome under the papal government recalls any name more thoroughly identified with the most determined resistance to anything like political progress, reform, or reconciliation with the Italian revolution than that of Padre Curci, "the antagonist of Gioberti, the excommunicator of Passaglia."

Padre Curci was born in Naples in 1809; but he is described as "so healthy and robust" that he would be thought ten years younger than he really is. "His forehead is large and intelligent, his eyes penetrating and very bright; his long and thick gray hairs hang in graceful disorder on his temples, and almost hide his ears; his whole appearance is most attractive, and there is nothing common or conventional about him. A man of enlightened and indomitable spirit."

If Curci is to be named after Perrone or Passaglia as a scholastic dogmatist, he certainly should be named before them as a controversial and especially as a Biblical theologian. If he be inferior to them in the cloister, he is their superior in the pulpit. If he be something less of the staunch ecclesiastic, he is animated by more fervency of principle. Passaglia, indeed, marshaled and led forward in a reform petition nine thousand priests who trusted in his great name; but when they drew back, he relapsed into a bitterly disappointed silence. Curci was far slower in thinking it his duty to take such a step; but that which he believed it right to do he did alone, and without asking whether he were followed by thousands or by none.

Shortly after the Italian occupation of Rome, and while the Italian Parliament was discussing the Law of the Papal Guarant-



tees, Curci, at the zenith of his reputation, was making the arches of Il Gesù resound with his eloquent denunciations of the invaders and despoilers of the Church. After this, retiring to Florence, he devoted himself for two years to the study of the Gospels, in which he devoutly sought for the principles which could remedy the troubles which had thus come upon the Church. As the result of this study he published, in a small volume, the Gospels themselves, with some short notes; and he also both preached and published in four octavo volumes a series of lectures upon them. Of the former, it was claimed that more than twenty thousand copies were sold in Italy. Two sentences from the preface will reveal the spirit with which the author was moved to this:—

"The Holy Gospel is not read, perhaps is not even known, by many Christians, among whom there are so many who will go out of life not only without having meditated upon, but without having even seen the book which ought to have been the code, the guide, the consolation of all their life. . . . May it be God's pleasure that our Lord Jesus Christ, known by many in this divine little volume as the *Truth*, may make himself to them the *Way*, that is, their guide on their earthly pilgrimage, in order to be to them their *Life* of grace in this world and of glory in the other."

These publications worthily closed the first period of Curci's life and ministry, and brought him to a time of which it was then said, "The papacy has made hatred of the kingdom of Italy a condition of its own existence."

Padre Curci now came back, as it were, from these years of absorbed study of the life and teachings of Christ, to active participations in Church interests, — to enter, at sixty-eight years of age, upon a wholly new course.

He wrote a private letter to Pius IX., then drawing very near his end, praying him to accept the position in which, by God's providence, the papacy had been placed, to reconcile the Church with Italy, and to inaugurate a policy of entire devotion to the spiritual trust committed to the Church. This was soon followed, early in 1878, by the publication of the first of his great indictments of the papacy, "*Il Moderno Dissidio tra la Chiesa e l'Italia*" (The Modern Antagonism between the Church and Italy), a virtual amplification of his letter to the Pope.

In this work — whose force lay in the author's description of the actual conditions of the Church rather than in the future or in the remedies proposed — Curci, to use his own words, sought "to bring to light a network of frauds which derives its whole power

from its being hidden, or little known; if, indeed, we ought not to say that it is altogether disguised on its surface by the moral influences of every kind and form that are exerted to give it a different appearance." Curci's conclusion, however, was "that the Holy See must resign itself to the loss of the temporal power, and that there opens before the ministers of Christ a field more worthy of them, and more fruitful for others, wherein they may regain the trusting reverence of the people by spotless lives, by solid learning, and by active charity."

This volume was unfortunate in the time of its appearance, just when public attention was engrossed with the death of the king. Its most important result, therefore, was Curci's prompt expulsion from the Society of Jesus, of which he had been a member for nearly fifty years. He was, indeed, also required to make some kind of retraction, or, at least, "explanation," which seems, in this case, to have been more nominal than real; but it saved the book from official condemnation, and enabled the new Pope, Leo XIII., to call him to his counsels. It would appear, however, from such glimpses as we get of him during the two years following, that he did not come out of this without some kind of official censure still hanging over him.

Padre Curci's next labors were devoted to the translation and publication of the New Testament, with copious notes, in three volumes. For this he retired to Naples, living in great privacy and even poverty, for the greater part of 1879 and 1880. In this work, though all this time under deprivation *a divinis*, he was quietly but earnestly encouraged by the Pope, who received each volume in turn, and sent him, through Don Giuseppe Pecci, his brother, his personal thanks. Indeed, Curci had every reason to feel that, whatever official documents concerning him the Pope thought himself constrained to sign and, so far, to authorize, he had, none the less, the sympathy of the man.

Returning to Florence upon the completion of this translation, Padre Curci dealt the papacy another heavy blow by the publication, early in 1881, of his "*Nuova Italia ed i Vecchii Zelanti*" (New Italy and the Old Zealots). Of this, he at once sent a copy to the Pope. It is said "that Leo wept in reading some pages" of this book. Cardinal Chigi pronounced it "the worst evil which had fallen on the Church since the loss of the temporal power." But whatever may have been the Pope's personal feelings about it, the Curia, none the less, insisted upon and procured its condemnation. As a good ecclesiastic, Curci "submitted him-

self," whatever that may mean, when every one knew perfectly well that he surrendered no one of his convictions. Seven thousand copies of the work were sold in a fortnight, and a new edition was at once announced as in press.

To give any account of a work which ought to be widely known in an English translation is here out of the question. Suffice it to say only that, in substantive thought, it was a virtual reproduction of his former charge, but brought to bear more powerfully upon all the various subjects in regard to which the "old zealots" who dominated the Church were forcing it into antagonism at once with the new social and political life of Italy, and also with the truest and highest interests and most solemn spiritual obligations of the Church herself. It is, like the former, an indictment, the spirit of which may be easily inferred from the author's application to the Church of Rome of our Lord's message to the church in Laodicea, Revelations iii. 17, 18, which he first fully expounds, and then adds: "Either I can see nothing or else *this is exactly our case.*"

In December, 1883, this again was in turn followed up by still another, a thick volume of some four hundred pages, "*Il Vaticano Regio*" (The Royal Vatican), in the preface of which Curci declares it to be his object to save the Church by casting out that "immense mass of human interests that has gathered round the Popes, making the papacy inaccessible to the laity, provoking them to separate from it, not in a schismatic spirit, but from indifference," and producing in the Italian clergy "an abasement of the moral sense unparalleled in history."

This work being promptly condemned by the Inquisition as "a scandal," Curci replied in a fourth volume, "*Lo Scandalo del Vaticano Regio*" (The Scandal of the Royal Vatican), in which he brought to a close his controversy with the Curia. This is, largely, an account of the reception with which the "*Vaticano Regio*" had met. He had submitted himself to the censures pronounced against him, and agreed "to repudiate the book so far as there is just cause for its repudiation;" but he was, under threat of suspension *a divinis*, required to repudiate it "pure and simple." This he refused to do in language which deserves a lasting record, for it draws the line sharply between Vaticanism and Catholicity as Curci understood them both. "A Christian's conscience cannot be obligated to adhere to any dictum . . . merely on the authority of another and not by evidence or by his own reason, unless that truth is declared by the author of conscience himself, that is, God."

But the Curia were not to be thwarted, and, having to deal with an old man of seventy-four, they wrung from him at last both his submission of himself and his retraction of "whatever in his books is contrary to the faith, morals, discipline, and rights of the Church." Even so; since the veteran controversialist has ever maintained that he has written nothing that can properly be so regarded, it is difficult to see on what ground the Curia can feel that they have gained a real victory.

Concerning this singular career much has been written and said that is utterly illogical. At each of these publications Protestants have taken it of granted that Padre Curci was about to leave the Roman Church, — nay, had in that act virtually done so; that he must be about either to join some other religious communion or to originate one for himself; and, at each submission they have regarded him as proving weakly false to his own words.

To those to whom the organic Church is little more than the accident or the outward expression of agreement in certain theological views or of concurrence in a certain ecclesiastical life, it is incomprehensible that Curci should, if sincere in his invectives and charges, remain in the Church of Rome; and, of course, his submissions are still more incomprehensible. Such persons rarely realize how widely different is the position of those to whom the Church, as a divine institution, is something far greater than the mere aggregate of its individual members, — to whom it is an authority having a *right* to their spiritual allegiance, having a historic faith wholly independent of the concurrence of their personal opinions, and having its standards of truth and right to which either individuals or majorities are alike bound to conform their course and teachings.

Padre Curci has never written one word against the claims of the Church of Rome upon his allegiance, or even against that of the Roman Pontiff to be the head of the Church on earth. He has given no one any ground to think of him as other than a faithful and obedient son of that Church and a conscientious adherent of the papacy. The force of his indictments is largely due to the fact that they come from one known to be such. He has been, he is, and he is here cited as being, not a *destroyer*, but a representative would-be *reformer* of the papacy.

However greatly, therefore, some may be disappointed that Curci has not gone on to separate himself from his Church and wholly to break with the Pope, as some others have done, these four books, as indictments, gain rather than lose by the final per-

sonal submission of their author to the authorities of the Church; for such a submission on his part neither alters the significance of his statements nor renders his logic fallacious. It cannot unwrite the volumes themselves, nor stop Italian thinkers from reading them. They remain a leaven of reform teaching, which will and which must continue to work all the more powerfully for the fact that they came, not from one who had renounced the Church and become her open enemy, but from one who ever remained her submissive son, even to the point of yielding himself to her extremest sentence, to virtual incarceration. But that exacted and enforced submission, — which is only self-submission, not an admission that his words were untrue, — that submission added to those written words the most telling lesson of all, a lesson that Italy ought to have learned from him, that the reformation of the Church must be sought, not in the reformation, but in the transformation, or rather in the *extrusion* of the papal system.<sup>1</sup>

Wm. Chauncy Langdon.

BEDFORD, PA.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was not only written but in type, information has been received, in the *first* place, to the effect that Padre Curci denies that his *Declaration* concerning his polemic writings are to be regarded as a *retraction* of their leading principles; and, in the *second* place, of still another work, — *Of Christian Socialism*, — which gives splendid account of his employment of the time of his "retirement." In this, perhaps the most valuable volume of this remarkable series of writings, the venerable author does not, indeed, in form return to the polemical discussion of the conditions to which the Christianity of the Latin Churches has been brought by the Curialism with which it is corrupted; but he does so scarcely the less effectively in the exalted standards of practical Christianity which he maintains and commends to Christian people, and which, moreover, he makes the basis of a most powerful discussion of the relations between such Christianity and the tremendous problems into the presence of which modern society and the political world have been brought. Who shall tell the value of the work which, in the good providence of God, this wonderful old man has been raised up to do, not for his own Italy and his own Italian church alone, but for all Christendom?

## EDITORIAL.

## THE BIBLE A THEME FOR THE PULPIT.

THE conception of the Scriptures associated with modern Biblical culture suggests a new task for the pulpit, and in making this suggestion presents a practical problem to the preacher.

On the one hand, the stimulus and comfort which he receives from his new notion of the Bible make him eager to see it taking possession of the mind of his people. Besides, full sympathy of belief between minister and congregation is felt to imply a fellowship of opinion regarding a subject so much in the minds of both. If the people fully entered into the minister's thought of the Bible, he could have partnership with them in the Biblical study which takes shape under that conception, and could give Biblical truth to them fresh and vivid from his own mind. The loss of naturalness and freedom, if not of sincerity, involved in the endeavor to interpret the Scriptures to hearers not in perfect agreement with the speaker as to what the Bible is would be avoided.

On the other hand, the minister knows that his conception of the Bible differs considerably from that which holds some, perhaps many, of his people, and those by no means the least vigorous or earnest among them. And he apprehends that the divergence of his view from theirs, if clearly seen by them, would seem greater and more serious to them than it does to him. The idea of divine revelation is in their minds so firmly associated with that of immediate divine utterance, perfect both in content and in form, that any attempt to show that the Bible is not a book of oracles would, he thinks, be likely to wound religious feeling.

Therefore, he asks himself whether it be worth while to risk the loss of influence with some, perhaps among the most valuable members of his congregation, which would be likely to result from an attempt to teach a way of looking at Scripture which would seem to them prejudicial to its sacredness and authority.

In view of these adverse considerations, might not frankness in regard to this point of Christian belief be indiscretion? It is not one of the essentials of orthodoxy. Evangelical faith can thrive where the verbal inspiration and the literal perfection of the Scriptures are held; perhaps a faith which has grown in connection with such a view of the Bible would be weakened by an endeavor to substitute another for it. Besides, the main work of the preacher is to give his hearers spiritual truths drawn out of the Bible, not discussions concerning the nature of the Bible. Many of our intelligent and open-minded ministers find difficulty in deciding between these opposing considerations. They are in a state of suspended judgment, which is a temporary commitment to one of the two courses, and may result through sheer inertia in its permanent adoption.



It is not, we trust, disrespectful to suggest that the considerations in favor of the prudential course are nearer than those which support its opposite, and therefore likely to assume excessive prominence, and that they are supported by motives which might exaggerate their importance to any but the most disinterested among mankind. Perhaps when the action to which they lead is viewed on all sides, they will lose some of the force they have carried. It is suggested that a minister keep back his thought about what the Bible is lest he may wound, possibly alienate, some of his people who hold a different view. The matter about which divergent opinions are held is confessedly an important one. The preacher regards it as such. He knows that his view of Scripture has freed him from painful questions concerning its inspiration, and made it to him a richer and more stimulating book. Hence his desire to give this view to his people. And those who hold the other conception regard their view as essential to Christian faith, or else they would not be disturbed by the presentation of one differing from it. If, now, the preacher is unwilling to speak his mind to his people regarding a matter deeply interesting to both, and one holding a large place in the common religious life, is he not refusing to do for them as regards an important matter the work of a Christian minister? For what is that work but a ministration of religious truth by a life giving to others what it finds precious in its own experience? And what do the divine sanctions under which that work is done imply if not a right and an obligation to give the truth won and possessed its full scope; to give it the best opportunity to enter all minds, — those indisposed as well as those willing to receive it? Surely, then, a minister can only justify himself in withholding from his people his view of what the Bible is by persuading himself that it is of little consequence to them what they regard it to be so long as they bow before its authority. But those ministers who owe much to their having gained a better view (as they believe) of Scripture cannot think their hearers' conception of it a thing of small moment, unless, indeed, they put the religious life of their hearers, in its appreciation of truth, upon a plane much below that on which they themselves stand.

When we find Rothe saying in his "*Zur Dogmatik*" that the Bible in its relation to divine revelation is not a theme for the pulpit, we recognize an assumption of a great gulf between the capacity of pastor and people common in Germany, but happily foreign to the religious life of America. A preacher whose preaching was, as a whole, shaped by that assumption would not do a minister's full work for one of our more intelligent congregations, if, indeed, he could hold its attention. It is mutually agreed here by pastor and people that satisfactory preaching, in point of impression, implies intellectual as well as moral fellowship between speaker and hearer.

It may be assumed, then, that the American minister believes that it is desirable for his people to gain those views of Scripture which are so helpful to himself. He can hardly take so narrow a view of his work as

not to believe that it includes supplying this want. Ministering to a people's religious needs surely implies helping them take those ways of finding God which the minister has proved in his own experience. Does he claim that his work consists simply in expounding and enforcing the explicit doctrinal and practical teaching of the Old and New Testaments? Upon what ground does he base a conception of his work, so much narrower and more formal than that of the first preachers, who taught Christianity according to their perception of spiritual truth and the immediate wants of their hearers before the Christian Scriptures had come into being? But even if the preacher take this view of his work, he will find himself obliged in doing it to answer the question, "What is the Bible?" For the New Testament tells of a divine word, a communication from God of revealing and supernatural fact, and to show clearly what this is is to show its relation to the Scripture in which it is enshrined.

But the failure to teach on one important subject is not the only evil implied in a minister's withholding from his people his view of the Bible. It is likely to lessen the effect of such teaching as he is willing to give. For some of his people are probably conscious of the want which he shrinks from supplying. They have enough scientific culture to know that neither history nor geology give acceptance to all the statements found in the Biblical narrative. Moreover, they find on the face of Scripture blemishes apparently incompatible with a verbal inspiration. The introduction of the Revised Version has very likely set them questioning as to the original perfection of a book which must become imperfect in transmission to distant ages and foreign peoples. They wish fairly to face the questions thus raised, and to decide in view of the answers obtained what Christianity claims for the Bible as regards sanctity and separateness from other literature. They expect help from the pulpit in making the decision. If they wait in vain for it, if they are put off with vague assertions that the Bible is not like other books, and that Christian teaching finds here its source and its authority, they are likely to conclude either that their minister is unwilling to face the question which is pressing itself upon them, or that he has faced it, and is unwilling to inform his people of the conclusions to which he has come. The effect of either conclusion will be not only that of discrediting with them their pastor's exoteric teaching regarding Scripture, but also that of causing his other doctrinal teaching to lose the influence belonging to the utterances of a mind supposed fully and frankly to state its beliefs. We say this, arguing from manifest probabilities. We may go farther and say that we draw from observation the belief that the result pointed out has in many cases actually happened, and that the teaching of not a few thoughtful and intelligent ministers is considerably weakened in effect by their unwillingness to give in the pulpit a full answer to the question, "What is the Bible?"

It is due, we may say in passing, in no small degree to the exclusion

of this topic from recent preaching that our churches have almost without exception in their Sunday-school work fallen under the rigid dominion of a conception of Scripture and method of handling it with which the more intelligent ministers have only partial sympathy, and from whose grasp many of them would gladly escape.

The considerations against discussing the Bible in the pulpit must be weighty to offset these reasons for frank and open speech. We are not insensible to their importance, but cannot think that they ought to carry the day. There may, indeed, well be a time of reflection and sifting, a time of reticence because of partial or immature conviction. But when conviction is formed it should be expressed, — though not, of course, in a challenging and combative manner. A minister who should begin to preach a series of sermons about the Bible, by saying that he expected to show that the notion of inspiration in which his hearers had been trained was an erroneous one, would probably find a considerable part of his congregation resolutely opposed to his teaching from the outset. The misunderstanding as to his conception of the Bible created by his injudicious remark (injudicious because misrepresenting the real nature of the proposed teaching) could hardly be removed by any subsequent explanations. But let the discussion be announced to be, what it really is, an examination of facts; let it be proposed to enter upon an historical inquiry as to the genesis of the Scriptures, and to examine their relation to the divine revelation in the light of their origin; and assent is not likely to be withheld from a proposition so reasonable and so promising of definite result. Then, as inspired life is shown expressing itself in inspired teaching, — as, for example, the connection between Paul's written teaching and his own inner life and his apostolic work is traced, or the apostolic tradition is shown embodying itself in the synoptic Gospels, — the conviction will gradually be created that the Scripture is the vehicle by which the divine revelation is conveyed to man, and in no true sense the revelation itself. This conviction formed, it will be easy to show that the perfection of the vehicle is by no means implied in the preciousness of its contents, and that Christian faith is not necessarily committed to the infallibility of the Bible.

Such teaching as this, we believe, would meet with a hearty response from the great mass of Christian hearers. The laity have their full share of the historical bias belonging to the religious mind of our time, as the great sale of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and the prevalence of study in Bible-classes show. They will eagerly receive "Biblical Introduction," of which such rich stores have been of late years put at the command of the preacher, if it be only given them in a clear and attractive form. Such teaching as is exemplified in Canon Farrar's "Messages of the Books" cannot fail to be acceptable, and its power to prepare the way for right conceptions of Scripture is not easily overestimated.

## THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND MADAGASCAR.

A PARIS journal, while the debate on Tonquin was in progress which left the Brisson Ministry with so small a majority that it was forced to resign, published a telegram announcing that the Madagascar government had accepted a French protectorate and agreed to a war indemnity of ten million francs. The next morning, notwithstanding the more guarded statement made to the French chamber by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the London "Times" editorially accepted the version given in the "Temps," and discoursed upon the situation as though France had practically won all for which it had been contending. The brief reports cabled to this country were to the same effect, and since in these days many persons derive their impressions of passing foreign events almost entirely from such despatches it would not be strange if there were a wide-spread belief that the brave and persevering Hovas have at last succumbed to the superior power of France. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. The real victory is with the just cause. A rapid sketch of the dispute will suffice to make this clear. It will serve, also, incidentally to show what sort of a people have been won by Christian missions from barbarism and tribal wars to the virtues and tranquillity of a well-ordered, self-respecting and self-governing nation.

In size, Madagascar is ranked as the third island of the globe. Its length is 975 miles, its average width about 250 miles, to which must be added a hundred more for the greatest breadth. A glance at Sibree's Physical Map shows a broad belt of almost continuous forest, running nearly parallel with the shore, and for the most part from thirty to forty miles inland. Within this inclosure of virgin forest is an elevated granitic plateau, broken by numerous mountains, and on the west and south a lower and more level country lying between the plateau and the dense woods. The central province of the island is the home of a tribe, the Hovas, which has gained at least a nominal supremacy over the whole island. In the extreme north and on the west coast are the Sùkalavas, of whose concessions the French have made great account in arguing their claims. The name Malagasy is applied to the inhabitants of the island collectively.

The grievances for whose redress France has been for so long a time at war with Madagascar relate chiefly to three matters: the Laborde inheritance, the dhow Touclé, the French protectorate.

1. *The Laborde Inheritance.*—Monsieur Jean Laborde belongs to that class of enterprising, capable, and unscrupulous adventurers whose exploits are associated with all sea-washed coasts. He was a man of faculty, as we Yankees are wont to say, and therefore able to get on by making himself useful wherever his roving might carry him. His father, we are told, was a "master wheelwright, blacksmith, and saddle and harness maker." The boy joined a French cavalry regiment and served in it several years. His father dying, he procured a substitute and started

out to see the world. Settling at Bombay, he followed the trades familiar to his boyhood and rapidly acquired wealth. The spirit of adventure was too strong to allow him to remain stationary, so he sold out his workshops and set sail for some unknown port in the Indian Archipelago. He was wrecked on the southeastern coast of Madagascar. Like many another hero of his order his ascent from this point of depression to eminence and power is invested with mythical drapery. He is said to have been taken as a captive from the coast to the capital of the bloody Queen Ranavàlona I., that he might be sold as a slave; to have been liberated by the queen, who learned that he could make muskets; to have ingratiated himself into her favor, and to have become her trusted and most influential counselor. There is no doubt that at her command he established numerous workshops and that he rose to power at her court; but his first years after the wreck appear to have been spent on the coast, and his appearance at the capital seems to have followed the general expulsion of foreigners and the withdrawal of the English missionaries and artisans. Before this, probably, his business abilities were employed in the slave trade. During the next decade of the reign of the persecuting and "horrible" queen M. Laborde flourished greatly. He gained influence over minor chiefs. Houses and lands were bestowed upon him. He established workshops near the capital and also at Mantasoua, twenty miles away. Here his mechanical skill and industrial enterprise wrought marvels. The wilderness blossomed. The new creation was named *Soatsimanampiovana*, "beauty without change." A brook wound among the hills and often expanded into little lakes. Granite aqueducts were constructed, and large reservoirs, with all needed sluices and dams. Buildings were erected for the manufacture of pottery, glass, and silk. There were grain mills, limekilns, and brick-yards, soap-works, a cannon-foundry, gun-factory, and an immense arsenal. A neat village gave homes to some fifteen hundred trained workmen. Five or six thousand slaves were employed. On the summit of a hill, within a grove of red-blossoming laurel trees, rose a spacious mansion, where M. Laborde entertained his friends with princely hospitality. "We made our entry there," writes a Jesuit priest, "on the tenth of June at noon. A military band played in our honor various familiar pieces, whilst a choir of young girls sang Malagasy songs in welcome of the travelers." On a neighboring hill a palace was built for the queen, and around it cottages for her suite. The French adventurer evidently had not a little of Cardinal Wolsey's love of magnificence. Like other court favorites he was not easily satisfied. His country-seat became a place of intrigue. He had previously brought to the capital and introduced to the reputed son of the queen, the heir-apparent, an adventurer more ambitious and less scrupulous than himself, Monsieur Lambert. This associate and fellow-countryman became the intimate friend of the prince. They entered into a blood-covenant. Several Jesuit priests were at hand; one of them in the garb of a civilian and acting as a clerk to Laborde. A conspiracy was entered

into to depose the queen, to set up the crown prince in her stead, and to secure for a company to be organized by Lambert, who appears to have been the ringleader, a great territorial and mining monopoly, under a French protectorate which should cover the whole island. The plot, though long and skillfully planned, failed completely. The Frenchmen were expelled from the island. With the characteristic prudence and generosity which for many years has marked its dealings with foreigners, the government permitted them to retain all their personal property. No claim appears to have been made, or to have been thought of, to lands. By the universal and immemorial tradition and law of the realm the soil belongs to the sovereign and cannot be deeded in fee-simple. The exiles went to Réunion and waited their opportunity. The queen died, and her son ascended the throne as Radama II. The two conspirators were the first foreigners to arrive and greet the new monarch. They had obtained from him as crown prince a concession which he had promised to ratify if he became king. This was enlarged and ratified. Laborde meanwhile had obtained an appointment as consul. The concession gained a quasi-diplomatic authority. The name of Lambert appears in the document; Laborde's is appended in certification as consul for France. The king was a tool in the hands of the wily Frenchmen. His habits were bad. Much of the time he was drunk. His subjects deposed him, and put in his place Queen Rahosèrina. The concession and also a treaty made at the same time were repudiated. Upon the remonstrances of the French authorities the government of the queen paid an indemnity of eighty-six barrels of silver dollars, estimated to be worth 906,184 francs. The deed was surrendered and publicly burned. Rahosèrina reigned five years and was succeeded by Ranavàlona II. A new treaty was made with France. Its fourth article gave the French liberty to acquire landed as well as movable property, subject to the laws of the country. The new Queen was a convert of the English missionaries. Under her beneficent administration, notwithstanding the scourge of successive epidemics, the island made immense advances in civilization. M. Laborde seems to have conducted himself as a loyal subject, and again became rich. Nearly a decade of peaceful prosperity for the island had passed when he died in 1878. The Jesuits, meanwhile, had become thoroughly alarmed at the influence of the English missionaries; the French planters at Réunion were jealous lest the labor traffic should be interrupted; and so the home government was stirred up to action. An occasion was found in the will of Laborde. He had left his property to two nephews, Édouard Laborde and M. Campan, secretary of the French consulate. Documents were produced in proof that Radama II. had conveyed to the devisee, the Consul Laborde, certain lands and buildings, to be held in perpetuity. The Madagascar government maintained, with some show of reason, that these title-deeds were forgeries. This point, however, has not been satisfactorily established, especially in view of the well-known weakness of the king. A more conclu-



sive plea disputed the French interpretation of the papers. These conferred the property upon Laborde *mainly molaly*, a phrase meaning *blackened by soot*, and signifying that the right bestowed has the validity of a long possession. Upon the evidence derived from the force of this phrase it was claimed by the French government that King Radama had changed the immemorial and fundamental law of his country, a law which is also established everywhere in Southern Africa, and until recently obtained in England, namely, that the title to land vests in the sovereign. So great a revolution would seem indubitably to require for its authorization more explicit phraseology.

2. *The Dhow Touélé.*—This was a vessel flying French colors. Representations were made to the Malagasy government that, while engaged in traffic on the northwest coast, her master, his son, and two of the crew had been killed by the natives, and that the vessel had been plundered. Orders were immediately sent to the governor of the district to investigate the case, with a view to reparation and the punishment of the guilty. After four months' delay the French commissioner demanded the execution of four of the principal offenders, the payment of \$6,000 to the heirs of the victims, and \$3,740 for the plundered goods. The Malagasy government, in its reply, disclaimed any desire to exculpate any of its subjects, and called attention to the results of its investigation, by which it appeared that the vessel was a smuggler; that it was unlawfully introducing firearms into the country; that when this was resisted by the Malagasy officials the latter were fired into by the crew, and their leader was killed. The slaughter of the French subjects—who were all Arabs, as it proved—was due to the return fire. The most noteworthy thing in the negotiations about this affair is that, throughout, the French held the Hova government responsible for transactions within the territory, which, as we shall see, they claimed was under their own jurisdiction. The offending parties were Sakalavas.

3. *The French Protectorate.*—This has been a very variable claim. Sometimes the whole island seems to be included. More definitely appears the mining region referred to in the deed given by Radama II. to M. Lambert (the northern portion of the island, from twelve degrees south latitude to a line from Cape St. Andrew to Cape Bellone, that is, a little below the sixteenth parallel); or, more specifically, though still somewhat vaguely, the northwestern coast. The foundation of these claims is of the flimsiest sort. Treaties are alleged, whose originals, when asked for by the Malagasy envoys to Paris, could not be produced, and which were confessedly contingent upon conditions which have never been fulfilled. Notwithstanding all the talk about "ancient rights," and what is due to "our Sakalava allies," the French have, over and over again, acknowledged the authority throughout the island of the Hova government, and have themselves never permanently occupied an inch of territory on the main land. The protectorate, in large and in little, is a disgraceful boast and sham, as can be seen by

any one who will study the documents printed by Captain Oliver and M. Saillens, and contained in the red books of the Malagasy government and the yellow of the French. The most definite claim was to a territory over which the Hova flag has been flying for forty years and more. A French author puts the matter as truthfully as tersely when he writes:—

“Nos droits seculaires à Madagascar sont abrogés. Nos droits modernes n'ont jamais existés. Les negociateurs français l'ont reconnu.”

Two causes conspired in 1881 with those already indicated to incite the French government to aggression. One was the desire of Gambetta, then at the head of affairs, to interest his countrymen in a vigorous colonial policy. Domestic political reasons were at the bottom of this wish. The other was a fear that Madagascar might fall into the hands of the English,—a natural but groundless suspicion. Frenchmen trained under the influence of Jesuit missionary schemes find it almost impossible to understand the motive and methods of such efforts as those put forth by Protestant missionaries in Madagascar.

The agent selected for the development of the new policy was M. Baudais. Arriving in the island in November he found the Laborde inheritance still in dispute, and also the affair of the *Touélé*. Both, however, were in a fair way to a peaceful settlement, under the judicious management of his predecessor. M. Baudais had other ends in view. In April, 1882, he addressed a menacing letter to the Malagasy prime minister, in which he charged bad faith in the two matters just mentioned, asserted the authority of France over the northwest provinces, called attention to the presence of a fleet sent for the purpose of showing the determination of France to obtain satisfaction of her claims. The *Touélé* affair was settled by payment, under protest, of an indemnity of \$9,740. A peremptory demand was then made for the removal of the Hova flags in the northwest. The government replied by presenting convincing proofs of the baselessness of the alleged French rights. M. Baudais left the capital, and the *Forfait* steamed round to Passandava Bay, and landed a force which pulled down two Malagasy, and hoisted two French flags, to the glory of the captain of the vessel, who was made a rear-admiral. The force required was conveyed in a gig and a whale-boat. Finding the consul utterly unreasonable, the government of Queen Ranavalona sent an embassy to Paris. It was intrusted with full powers to treat with other powers than the French, if deemed necessary.

The negotiations at Paris proved ineffectual. The question of proprietorship in land made no insuperable difficulty. The French contented themselves with demanding a concession of long leases; the embassy offered a tenure of twenty-five years, which could be renewed three times. What the latter would not yield in any form, nor the former abandon, was a protectorate. In the course of the discussions the Hovas consented, out of deference to French susceptibilities and the alleged private

treaties with certain chiefs, to a temporary withdrawal of garrisons, custom-house officials and flags from the disputed district, with the understanding that the French would yield all claims to permanent authority. Upon this a document was submitted to them to sign which omitted any recognition of the promised withdrawal as merely temporary, asserted a protectorate over the northwest, and also "general rights over the whole of Madagascar." The bearing of the French diplomatists was such that the Malagasy envoys became alarmed for their personal safety, and fled by night to London. Subsequently they visited this country, where, as in England, they met with a friendly reception. At Washington, March 12, 1883, they confirmed a treaty, previously ratified by the Senate, which contains these words: "*The dominion of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar shall be understood to mean the whole extent of Madagascar.*" The same treaty concedes to the Malagasy government the right to regulate or prohibit the importation of ardent spirits into the island. In return Americans are conceded the right to leases of land, perpetually renewable. The trade of this country with the island exceeds that of any other nation. The English trade is next in value, and then the French. The English is said to be about five times as valuable as the French, and the American to be beyond both combined. Before returning to their country the envoys revisited England and went to Berlin. Though unsuccessful at Paris, in a second attempt, they took back with them to Antananarivo treaties of friendship with the United States, England, Germany, and Italy. Their bearing and conduct everywhere awakened a deep interest in their island. The French government remained bent on a vindication of its alleged claims and rights. We cannot follow the story of the recent tedious, disgraceful, and fruitless war which "the great nation" has waged on this people, but must confine ourselves mainly to the efforts of diplomacy.

March 17, 1883, Admiral Pierre was instructed to send an ultimatum to the Malagasy prime minister, in which the French protectorate was defined as including not only the northwest coast, but also the northeast, down to Antongil Bay, that is, a territory four times as large as that covered by the alleged Sakalava treaties. By way of emphasizing this ultimatum, and without a declaration of war, a squadron of seven vessels shelled a number of Hova posts, and a detachment of troops occupied Mojangà. Three days after receiving tidings of these successes, which were bulletined in Paris as glorious deeds of war, M. Baudais wrote to the English Consul that complications were "possible," but "not imminent!" With these preparations the ultimatum was dispatched from Tamatave to the capital, on the first of June, with notice that the town would be bombarded if a satisfactory answer were not returned by the ninth. Tamatave was shelled, and a number of neighboring places. The news reached Paris the day after the envoys held their last interview with M. Ferry.

In October an intimation from the Prime Minister that he desired new

negotiations quickened the French Admiral (Galiber) to additional bombardments. Every accessible place south of Tamatave was attacked. Mohambo was burnt for the fifth time. The work of destruction thus extended from the northwest coast down the entire line of the eastern. In November the government offered rentals for any time agreed upon, while still refusing freeholds. It offered also large pecuniary indemnities, but refused to compromise its independence. In the same month occurred the coronation of Ranavàlona III., who thus far has shown herself to be a worthy successor of the merciful, brave, and noble-minded Ranavàlona II. During the fifteen years' reign of the latter queen the schools increased from twenty-five to twelve hundred, and the churches to a still larger number. The government was reconstructed by the institution of eight departments, with a minister at the head of each. Courts of justice were established, a new code of laws promulgated, the army thoroughly reorganized, and all Mozambique slaves emancipated. The new queen's Speech gave assurance of the same righteous and progressive policy. Referring to the assaults upon the integrity of her domain, raising her golden sceptre, she uttered the memorable words:—

"Radàma put forth strenuous efforts to make his kingdom stretch to the sea; he left it to his three successors; they have left it to me. Should any one dare to claim even a hair's breadth, I will show myself to be a man, and go along with you to protect our fatherland."

By the beginning of 1884 M. Ferry was ready to waive the recognition of French territorial rights, provided the Hovas would not assert theirs on the northwest coast. But M. Baudais remonstrated. Something of the sort seems to have been offered only to be repudiated.

In March the Chamber of Deputies was roused to a new endeavor to subdue the Hovas. Backed by an immense majority (279), the Government urged the new admiral who had been sent out to immediate and energetic action. His arrival at Tamatave opened new negotiations, which followed the usual course,—an increase of offers of pecuniary indemnities, a refusal to surrender territory. At this conference Admiral Miot refused to recognize Ranavàlona as queen of Madagascar. He demanded a withdrawal of all her soldiers from the regions north of Capes Bellone and St. Andrew. The meeting, not long after this, of the young queen with her army and a vast assembly of her people was of the most thrilling interest. The minor proprieties of costume were duly regarded. Her robe was of "white silk, trimmed with pink satin;" her hair "plaited;" on her head rested "a light gold coronet." "On a small table on her right was a large Bible, and on a similar table at her left was a scarlet and gold crown. . . . Waving her small golden sceptre over her people," she thus addressed them:—

"O ye people devoted to your fatherland, and ye soldiers strong, my heart is glad as I stand among you. I see that both I, your queen, and this land of our ancestors are indeed dear to you; and when I have summoned you to

assemble, you have come at the appointed time ; therefore I express my satisfaction to you ; life and the blessing of God be upon you.

"And I have to say to you, O my soldiers (for we all form part of the army now, both I and my people), that since those Frenchmen have invaded our land, I have done everything to bring about a termination of the war.

"Although we have paid sums of money twice, it was my intention to give whatever would not involve my sovereignty or impair the independence of Madagascar, this land of our ancestors ; for I particularly dislike, and it grieves me indeed, that your blood should be shed.

"But they were not willing, O my army, and want one third of Madagascar for themselves, and for us to pay £120,000, as also to indemnify all the losses of other nations during the war ; and yet it was not we that destroyed that property, but the French alone bombarded and destroyed ; they struck the first blow and did not even give notice of war, but even assailed women and children ; and that even is not all they want, but I and my ancestors have been insulted, and they will not acknowledge me as queen of Madagascar, but only as queen of Imerina.

"I shall fulfill, O my people, the share in the defense of the land which belongs to me as queen. I have done so, but still I will do more, for, though I am a woman, I have the heart of a man. . . . However, my people, whatever be our strength, or however great our numbers, all this is in vain without the help of God ; let every one of us therefore ask for his help for deliverance in this our just cause.

"And these are my last words to you, O my army ; though our bodies be annihilated, we shall not be ashamed nor confounded, but our name and our fame will live forever, because we rather choose to die than yield up our fatherland and the good which God has given us. For is it not so, O ye warriors ?"

The prime minister responded with an address, in which he stated the Malagasy case in forcible terms, and at the close uttered these words :—

"But when we have right and justice on our side it is as your Majesty's father used to say, 'Truth is like a single hair which will knock down a bullock.' For when, think we, can Madagascar stand against France ? But those who have right on their side have God. It is certain that God has had already great compassion and mercy on us, for it is now more than a good year since they opened war on us, and by his ordering here we are the same as ever. We have full confidence, O Lady, for we lean on God."

M. Baudais renewed his importunities for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Gold, he wrote, had been discovered, and the British were getting mining concessions and ninety-nine year leases. The coast blockade, he further urged, was proving ineffectual. The cry now was, for an advance on the capital. But Admiral Galiber, who knew by experience something of the country, was now Minister of Marine and of the Colonies. He agreed with Admiral Miot that not a new method of attack, but a new commissioner was needed. *Exit* M. Baudais ! M. Patrimoine was transferred from Beyrout to Tamatave. The French claims began to moderate as the French exchequer grew empty through the extraordinary demands of a distant war with a people who behind their impen-

etrate forest wall could never be got at, and whose coasts were fatal to foreign troops.

We must not, however, omit entirely to notice M. Baudais's last effort at diplomacy. The Malagasy minister offered to accept "the high guarantee" of France, meaning, we presume, that no concession of privilege or territory should be made to any foreign power without the sanction of France. Stupidly missing his opportunity, the consul insisted upon substituting the word "protectorate."

M. Patrimoine arrived in Tamatave in October, but finding obstacles in his way prudently retired to Zanzibar. In November he was back again, soon arranged a conference, which in less than three days produced a treaty which has now been ratified by both parties. It is not all that the Malagasy deserve, but is much better than anything before conceded by France. The Queen of Madagascar is recognized as sovereign of the whole island. The "ancient rights," the Sakalava treaties, the protectorates, large and small, have disappeared. One portion of the treaty, in the light of the history, has a fine irony in it. The Queen promises "friendly treatment" to the Sakalavas! Probably these faithful "allies" of the Republic who have played so important a part in the debates of the Assembly and in inspired journalism will not mourn that they are at last recognized as being what for half a century they have known themselves to be, the subjects of the government at Antananarivo!

On the other hand, the Queen concedes to the Republic a Resident at the capital, with right of audience at the court, and power, assisted by a native judge, to decide disputes between Frenchmen and natives. He is prohibited from interference in the internal government, but will "represent Madagascar in all foreign relations," by which we understand that he will see that no other power shall do what France has tried so long to accomplish, and in vain, set up a foreign flag on Madagascar soil. Long leases of land are gained, and rights of succession, but not freeholds. No military indemnity is to be paid, but a round sum of 10,000,000 francs is given to France for the liquidation of French private claims or damages sustained by foreigners through the war. The relations of other foreigners on the island than the French will not be to the Resident, but directly with the Malagasy government. France is granted the right to occupy Diego Suarez Bay. There are intimations of some reservations in the Malagasy ratification of the treaty which may modify somewhat its terms. But no public announcement of these, so far as we are aware, has yet been made. We trust that the public sentiment which has been awakened for a brave and capable nation rapidly emerging from barbarism and gaining the blessings of a Christian civilization, — a sentiment which is making itself felt in France, as shown in recent important publications, — will protect the young Queen and her devoted people from further hostilities and exactions, and that her reign will prove as much more beneficent than that of her predecessor as her opportunities shall



be greater. We cannot close without adding, also, a word of congratulation to the faithful missionaries to whom, far more than to all other human agencies, is due the creation of this rising, free, and law-abiding commonwealth.

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## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

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### A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

#### I. THE TURKISH EMPIRE AND PERSIA.

OUR hope is, in these bimonthly reports, to go round the world, so far as occupied in Pagan or Mohammedan countries by Protestant missionaries, hoping, by divine help, to be guided to such facts as are sufficiently salient to be comprehensible in a condensed presentation, and are at the same time essentially characteristic of the work, and a true index of its true progress. Anticipations, estimates, criticisms, and other communications which lose distinctness by compression will seldom be adverted to. Such geographical, ethnographical, or historical elucidations, or such explanations of prevailing religions, as may fall fairly into subordination under the main purpose of this General View will not be neglected, and, where there is occasion, will be accompanied by maps.

If the primacy of honor should be largely accorded to the communications of the "Missionary Herald," the reason and the right of this are obvious; but it is hoped that no accessible organ of genuinely important missionary intelligence will be found to have been neglected. We need not speak of obligations, especially as to the true method of treatment, likely to be owing to *Warneck* and *Grundemann*, however haltingly these eminent pioneers may be followed. There will be value in even a broken reflection of a treatment of missionary intelligence which so faithfully rests upon the constitutive principles of the great work, and so accurately reports its freshest facts.

This present report is confined to the Turkish Empire in Europe and Asia, and to the American Presbyterian mission in Persia.

**TURKEY.**—At Sivas the American schools are stirring up a wholesome rivalry. The Armenians are putting up solid buildings, and introducing the study of English; the Mohammedans have put up excellent buildings, have a score of good teachers, and maintain so strict a discipline that Greeks and Armenians find it safe and agreeable to study with the young Moslems. Their schools are free.—In Western Turkey the churches have suffered much from the anarchical and unscrupulous propagandism of certain American Campbellites, true successors of the equally unscrupulous Judaizers who wrought so much mischief in the same regions of old. They take no shame thus "to enter into other men's labors," though they might easily have a special field assigned them. We call them Campbellites, because such people deserve no other name. Certainly the denomination of Garfield, of Powers, and of Isaac Errett ought to find it time to rise above this reckless proselytism.—One third of Zeitoon has been burnt. The Protestants have asked no aid, and are even unwilling to be relieved of the burden of their annual subscriptions. The neighboring Protestants have helped the sufferers liberally; the wealthy Armen-

ians have been deterred by remembrance of the rapacious appropriation by their Catholicos of former charities of theirs. At Marash the Turkish governor has shown a most energetic helpfulness towards repairing the losses caused by their great fire. — At Marash, Mr. Marden writes enthusiastically of the visit of Dr. William Hayes Ward, of the "Independent," and his fellow-explorers, on their way to Chaldaea. He says: "We brought our three congregations together in the large First Church, and listened to an address by Dr. Ward. He also addressed the students in our Theological Seminary and Girls' College. His earnest pleas for an evangelical, intelligent, and aggressive Christian faith will not soon be forgotten, while his congratulations on the progress already achieved gave us all great encouragement." — The ten Protestant schools at Marash, with their 600 pupils, have been for years supported by the people themselves; but in view of the great fire, it is proposed that, for the present, three fourths of the teachers' salaries shall be met by the Board, the people, however, still entirely supporting the principal of the high school. — At Everek the Gregorians sustain good schools; have been moved by Protestant example to establish a sort of conference meetings; meet on Sundays to hear the Gospel and Epistle of the mass translated and explained. The Armenian priests show uneasiness; many, it is remarked, rather from their narrow range of thought than from ill will. — From Aintab Dr. T. C. Trowbridge writes: "The college has never been so full as it is now, nor has there ever been such good order and such a spirit of study." — Dr. Ward speaks of an explorer in Asia Minor and his astonishment at meeting in town after town the work of American missionaries, as he was seeking only for Greek inscriptions. So Dr. Ward himself, in passing through the two Bulgarias, found everywhere men speaking English and full of American ideas, gained at Robert College. In Constantinople, he says, French is affected; but, outside of it, ten can speak English to one speaking French, and this wholly through American influence. In the large interior cities of Asia Minor it is the American missionaries who set the fashion in everything, while their commanding school-buildings emphasize their influence. — Dr. Riggs writes of having visited the library of the Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople, in company with General Wallace (then American minister there), and with Dr. Long, in order to examine the authority on which the writer of a book lately published in this country declares it to contain very extraordinary documents, among them the official records of the Sanhedrin in the time of Christ, and other Hebrew documents of the same age, some of which this writer states himself to have copied. It is needless to say that they did not expect to find any such things, and they did not. The librarian informed them that, with the exception of two geographical works, no book of the library had, within twenty-five years, been lent to a non-Moslem to make extracts from, and that within that time the only non-Moslems admitted to it were the Empress of the French and the Emperor of Austria. — The Rev. Dr. Somerville, the evangelist, of Glasgow, had visited Smyrna, and his ministrations had deeply impressed the whole place. He preached through an interpreter in five languages, holding sixty services. Says Dr. Constantine: "It is wonderful what one man can do when his soul is full of divine fire." The "Arevelk," an Old Armenian newspaper, complaining bitterly of the lack of preaching and of well qualified preachers in their church, says of Dr. Somerville: —

"We have noticed that not only Protestant but Gregorian Armenians have received his discourses with pleasure. Dr. Somerville does not preach as a Protestant, but since the points of agreement between the Christian sects are more numerous than the points of disagreement, he can choose for the ground of his discourses matters on which all Christians are of one mind, in the broad and lofty regions of Christian truth. Hence very many educated and honorable Armenians were able to listen to the moving and instructive discourses of this Scotchman without a wound to their own national or religious feeling. . . . In most of the sermons heard on Sundays and feast-days there is neither spirit, nor thought, nor art. Because they are without spirit they do not move the people. The words of our spiritual fathers have not the least influence on the morals of the people. But we do not believe that this could be said of those who regularly hear preachers like Dr. Somerville. We have seen the most worldly and the most freethinking of our compatriots moved by Dr. Somerville's sermons, and from this we gather that it is impossible for the penetrating, strong, and convincing sermons of such a preacher to fail of having an appreciable effect upon the moral conduct of his regular hearers. . . . In a nation as religious and as warmly affectioned toward piety as is the Armenian nation, it is an unpardonable and unendurable lack that compels us to take up the lantern of Diogenes in order to find preachers but moderately learned and only more or less able to speak."

—The Turkish tax-gatherer at Bansko (in Europe) says that when his hour for prayer comes he seeks a Protestant house to pray in on account of its superior neatness. — Mr. House writes that an improved system of giving has resulted in increasing the contributions of the church at Samokov, Bulgaria, two and a half times. The Bulgarian Evangelical Society have dedicated their new church building at Bansko. It is solidly and commodiously built of stone, accommodating some 450 people, but compelled to hold at the dedication 637. Mr. House says that the Bulgarian government is exceedingly variable in its policy towards the Protestants. As in Greece, national feeling is so interwoven with the national church, that in each country the sovereign, though a Protestant, is nearly powerless in this direction. Indeed, Prince Alexander told Bishop Hurst that he had found it impracticable to put up a small Lutheran chapel for his own use. — The "Watchman," referring to the proselytizing efforts of certain Baptists and Disciples in Turkey, which last teach that there is no promise of salvation to the unimmersed, remarks: "We do not think that the conversion of imperfect Congregationalists into worse Baptists is an end worthy of our efforts. Nor do we mean to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord by destroying and uprooting what others have planted." This expresses the general action and feeling of the Baptists proper, and particularly of the Missionary Union. — The Third General Conference of the Cæsarea station has been held. Dr. Farnsworth, alluding to the larger share of control now assumed by the native brethren, writes: —

"This Third General Conference strengthens us, if we needed strengthening, in our views of coöperation. The fuller and freer the consultations, on all matters pertaining to our common work, the better. Lead men with responsibility if you would develop their highest manhood. Confidence inspires a sense of responsibility, and the sense of responsibility leads to cautious, deliberate action."

—At Erzroom there has been a fierce outbreak of persecution on the part of the Gregorian against the Protestant Armenians. The young Protestant children of Gregorians have been so threatened by their parents that they hardly dare come to chapel. One young man, indeed, has

been so abused by his father as to be in danger of death. The Gregorians have formed a league of general non-intercourse with the Protestants. — On the other hand, at Harpoot, the governor having asked the people to meet in their respective burying-grounds to pray for rain, the Gregorians invited the Protestants to meet with them. Refreshing rain coming after the third joint service, a fourth was held for thanksgiving. At each service the Gregorian ritual was read, and afterwards the Protestant pastor Giragos was each time invited to preach. — At Mardin, Mr. Gates, while speaking of a more kindly feeling towards the Protestants as prevailing among the Moslems, adds, "if we except the rulers, whose hatred is kindled by that which wins the common people." It is known that the Turkish government no longer exhibits the indifference towards Protestant progress in the empire which it showed for the most part until the accession of Abdul Hamid. Previously to this, the Turks seem to have regarded the Protestantizing movements as they regarded all other religious controversies among their Christian subjects, of which they used contemptuously to say, "It matters not whether the dog bite the hog or the hog the dog." But during the present reign a growing hostility towards Protestantism has exhibited itself throughout the various ranks of officials, evidently encouraged by the Sultan himself, if not mainly proceeding from him. It cannot well be direct political jealousy, as the Americans are beyond suspicion on this score. But, indirectly, Protestant teachings have developed a general manliness, and a spirit of self-improvement, extending widely beyond the boundaries of professed Protestantism, which might easily awaken the forebodings of a jealous Moslem tyrant as to whereto this thing might grow. The eye of Dr. Ward, even on his rapid passage through the empire, has detected many symptoms which lead him to suspect that a great turning of the Turks from Islam to Protestantism may be at hand. And that profound student of Islam, Sir Wilfrid Blunt, though he maintains that all thoughts of converting the Arabs to Christianity are futile, at least within the present æon, believes that the interest of the Turks in Islam will decline when they lose the power of controlling it, and that they will then accept Christianity as the victorious system. It is known that Abdul Hamid, whose tastes are strongly theological, is bent, in the failure of the sword, on doing everything in his power to retain the Arabs as his spiritual subjects, and is therefore more solicitous to show himself an active Caliph than an active secular monarch. He is, in fact, an intensely zealous Mohammedan Pope, trembling daily lest he should lose his papacy by the rise of a better-accredited rival among the Arabs themselves, and he may therefore be depended on to do his utmost to root out any influences which endanger the fidelity of his own Turks to his spiritual sovereignty. The strange passiveness of our government to all the outrages upon its citizens in Turkey has played directly into his hands. Had it not been for the steady friendship of England, it is hard to say to what lengths Turkish brutality might have gone against our missionaries. We had good ambassadors at Constantinople, but their hands were tied from home. There is reason to believe that our government has at last awakened to a sense of the disgracefulness of its past policy, and that it may henceforth be relied on to protect its citizens in Turkey, not as missionaries, but as Americans.

— The views of Sir Wilfrid Blunt and of Dr. Ward, as to the probability that the collapse of the Turkish Caliphate will issue in a general

abandonment of Islam by the Turks, agree exactly with those expressed twenty years ago to the present writer by Dr. Van Dyck, of Syria, who, as Dr. Edward Robinson once said to us, knows Arabic better than any other Frank, understanding, say the natives, "even the women's Arabic." Dr. Van Dyck, remarking on the fact that Islam is so essentially Arabian in its genius, remarked also that the Turks above all, with their heavy, unideal Mongol natures, stand essentially outside of it, and that as the pride of possessing the Caliphate has kept them faithful to it, so the loss of the Caliphate might easily leave them indifferent to it, and open to the influence of a form of Christianity which has never been their slave, which presents itself to them as morally superior to the petrified churches of the Orient, and which is free from the semi-idolatrous accretions that revolt their stern monotheism in these.

—Dr. H. H. Jessup writes that on May 17th nineteen persons were received on confession of faith to the Beirût church, making forty-one members received within five months, — an event unprecedented within the history of the church. Here, too, the religious interest has brought some Moslems to the Christian meetings.

—The "Missionary Herald" for October gives an account of a persecution stirred up against the Protestants by one from whom we might expect better things, namely, the metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios, the discoverer of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." "Two weeks ago," writes Mr. Pierce, of Bardezag, "he went to Sandoan for a few days. Calling all those suspected of being 'Bible Readers,' he put to them such questions as these, which I have directly from the men themselves: 'What are you?' To the answer, 'I am a Christian,' he returned, 'What kind of a Christian are you? Are you Orthodox?' 'Yes, I am Orthodox.' 'Are you like me?' 'I don't know what you are.' 'Bring me one of those pictures; will you kiss that picture?' 'No, I can't do that.' 'Then get out of this; you are a Protestant,' etc. On Sunday morning he preached in their church from this text: 'I am the light of the world.' The substance of what he said was that there are two gospels, one written and one spoken; we must keep the spoken as well as the written, etc. . . . He then proceeded to instruct the priests not to baptize the children, nor to bury the dead, of any of these persons; to turn them out of the church, and to have nothing to do with them. The people should not give them salutations, nor accept theirs; they were bad men, etc. I am happy to say that these persons remained firm, and are ready to endure whatever of persecution may fall to them."

—The annual report of the Caesarea Station contains the following allusion to a society called the "Lovers of Instruction." "There has been in this city, for some sixteen years, a society working earnestly for the propagation of the gospel, but quite separate from the Protestant movement, and to some extent opposed to it, insisting that no political or ecclesiastical organization distinct from the Armenian community and church is either necessary or desirable." The steady opposition of the Gregorians, however, closed its schools, and secured the banishment of its leader, Dr. Avedis Yeretzian. Returning in about six months, he has renewed his labors as preacher for the society, but under Protestant protection, under which, indeed, the society's schools had been re-opened before his return. "Every branch of their work seems to be in a flourishing condition. . . . Practically, it is a second self-supporting Protestant congregation, sustaining well attended week-day prayer-meetings,



women's prayer-meetings, a Sunday-school, and two flourishing day-schools; and it has an average audience at its Sunday services of from four hundred to six hundred persons." An address of thanks to the Protestants for their protection of the society's work closes thus: "Respected brethren, that there may be good-will among all men, with one thought, one faith, let us beseech God that the gospel of Jesus Christ may be preached freely, and that his peace may speedily be spread through all the world. Amen."

—The Central Turkey Girls' College, at Marash, reports: "On the Sabbath of June 14th, a congregation of not less than fifteen hundred listened to the baccalaureate sermon preached by Rev. Simon Terzeyan to our graduates, in the yard of the Third Church, from the text found in Psalm cxliv. 12. The following Friday, June 19th, was devoted to the closing exercises of our school. Four hours of the morning were given to recitations in which the senior class had special opportunity given for review of their recent studies,—algebra, 'Evidences of Christianity,' and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Their essays in the afternoon, the presentation of the diplomas to the class of four, the pleasing and instructive remarks of our visitors,—all were of the peculiar interest ever connected with the *first graduates* of a college. We trust that the blessings of the present may continue, and a widening influence for good extend through the future of the Central Turkey Girls' College." The report says: "We believe that all our girls have begun the Christian life."

—The Aintab Girls' Seminary, under the care of Misses Pierce and West, reports the graduation last year of a class of nine, six of whom were professing Christians. There has been a spiritual awakening during the year, and nearly if not quite all the girls in the first and second classes are hoping in Christ. The government opposition to the erection of new buildings has been finally withdrawn, and the work of construction has gone on. The tragico-comic hindrances to female education in Turkey are spiritedly presented. "During the week we found, to our disgust, that girls whom we thought eligible for the school were also upon the 'matrimonial market.' They had, many of them, been at our school the previous year, and learned to read and write and add a little, and had memorized a few Bible stories and learned how to sew a little or do fancy work, and so thought themselves quite learned. Their mothers, utterly ignorant of books, thought them quite oracular, and inquired if we wished 'to make priests' of their children. Some were 'too large to be seen in the streets,' some were 'engaged,' or just going to be: that is to say, the doting father was negotiating with some unprincipled youth, offering various sums of money as dowry, to get him willing to take his dear daughter 'already too old to be sought in marriage,' having spent fifteen or sixteen years in this weary world! Perhaps at that very moment the tender mother was expressing her attachment to her beloved offspring by conferring with some neighboring woman anxious to get a young bride into the house to do her washing, scrubbing, and other drudgery. The relation of the young bride to the mother-in-law is that of a menial to an exacting mistress." This is at Adana, where missionary labor is beginning. Here is what Miss Tucker says of Marash, where, at the outset, things were no better. "I came to address the women of the three congregations in the First Church on Sunday. There was a congregation of about five or six hundred women present, and a more appreciative audience it would be hard to find. It is comforting



and encouraging to see the bright, earnest, intelligent faces of so many women,—the result of twenty years of hard missionary work. Last week they had an open meeting of a native missionary society that Miss Spencer helped in forming. Three of the married women read essays that would have done credit to women in similar circumstances in America. The homes here in Marash are far superior to those of any other city, town, or village that I have seen in Turkey. The Girls' College here is an ideal institution."

—At Smyrna the Greeks, though jealous of Protestantism, seem to have fallen upon an honorable and commendable way of expressing the fact. George Constantine writes: "We are still watched with a jealous eye; our audiences are closely scanned and dealt with in private; everything that can be done, without open violence, is done to destroy our influence. The archbishop is preaching every Sunday and *fête* day; also the Archbishop of Caesarea, who is visiting here, preaches every Sunday. Two other bishops, who were here awhile ago, were also pressed into the service of preaching. A lady in the neighborhood has opened a Sunday-school, and a high-school teacher is doing the same, while a society of over two hundred members has been formed in order to provide regular preaching in the city. So that you see some good comes even from the opposition. Our services also are well attended, and cases of personal interest are not wanting."—C. C. Tracy, at Marsovan, referring to former friction, says: "You can imagine how happy we are in the righted relations now existing between us and our native brethren."—F. T. Shepard, M. D., writes from Aintab. "The most interesting occasion of the week of annual meeting was the celebration of the Lord's Supper, upon Sunday, June 28th, in the First Church, the Aintab churches uniting in the service. Mr. Christie preached the sermon. There were, by a careful estimate, nearly 1,000 communicants present, and the hour was a very precious one to us all. My heart has not been so uplifted since I came to Turkey."

—The "Missionary Herald" for November has a map and geographical notices of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, from which we learn that of the ten millions of the upper Principality, sixty-seven per cent. are found by the last census to be Bulgarians, and twenty-five per cent. Turks. The area is 24,000 square miles; that of Eastern Roumelia 14,000. The united Bulgaria would therefore be almost as large as Ohio. Eastern Roumelia has a very small relative population, only 850,000, of whom nearly three fourths are Bulgarians. The American Board has a station at Samokov in Bulgaria, Philippolis in Eastern Roumelia, and Monastir in Macedonia. But "between the hammer and the anvil" as the three provinces are now, it is to be feared that *inter arma silebit evangelium*.—From the review of the last twenty-five years, in the "Missionary Herald" for November, we learn that since 1860 the number of Protestant churches gathered by American missionaries in Turkey (and Persia) has increased from 49 to 149; the membership from 1,696 to 11,263. The high-school pupils have increased from 216 to 2,500; the common-school pupils from 6,000 to about 20,000.

—Mr. Tracy, at Marsovan, gives one of those little sketches of innermost Christian worth which it is worth whole years of labor to be able to report. "Sunday we buried one of the excellent of the earth,—the mother of a large and prominent family. She had no education, made no pretensions, never wore an ornament, was always seen at the prayer-

meetings, — had a little private income, the whole of which she gave to the poor, of whom she thought far more than of herself. When she prepared provision for her household, she always prepared a portion for the poor also; when she made grape sugar, she made some for her poor neighbors; when she made sweetmeats, she set aside a part for such as are too poor to taste sweets. She always took the lowest place, but her sons and grandchildren instinctively rose up whenever she entered. She never said a smart thing, but the street could hardly contain the crowd that came to her funeral. She had not accomplishments nor beauty, yet the city weeps over her grave. Her children kept each a memento, and gave all the rest of her things to the poor. How beautiful!"

— President Wheeler, of Harpoot, under date of July 30th, makes the following cheering report from the College: "I am glad to say that the year just closed has been a more successful one than any preceding year, not only in the number of the pupils, but financially and intellectually, and I may add also religiously. The male department has had 42 primary, 62 intermediate, 48 high-school, 38 college, and 6 theological students — a total of 196; and the female department, 48 primary, 35 intermediate, 23 high-school, and 21 college students, — a total of 127; giving in both departments a total of 323. . . . Of the classes of thirteen young men and three young women who were graduated July 9th, all but three being apparently followers of Christ, nearly all go at once into active service in our own or in neighboring mission fields, one having gone to Salmas, in Persia, taking with him over 700 volumes from our College press, to begin a school among the Armenians on that plain. One of the young men has gone to open a high school in Kurdistan. . . . The classes to be graduated during the next two years are much smaller. Next year we shall graduate a small class from the theological department."

— At the seventy-sixth annual meeting of the Board, the Committee on the Missions in the Turkish Empire, Rev. W. H. Ward, D. D., chairman, presented a report containing the following remarks: "Turkey is peopled by races of great physical and intellectual force, and the possibility, nay, the certainty, of a great empire lies in that land. . . . There is needed only just that religious education which we are giving Turkey, and out of which states are now being born in European Turkey and shall be born south of the Bosphorus. . . . We are glad to find the relation between the missionaries and the Protestant communities of Constantinople considerably improved by the happy results of the commission sent there two years ago. . . . During the year, our churches have been somewhat distracted, if not weakened, by the schismatic efforts of Baptist and Disciple preachers. Our thanks are due to our noble sister, the Baptist Missionary Union, for honorably discouraging this invasion. . . . Robert College has made a self-governed Bulgaria possible. Who will venture to divine what similarly equipped institutions in Aintab, Harpoot, Marsovan, Mardin, and Midyat . . . may not do for the Turkish, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac-speaking peoples of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia? . . . The work of the Board in Turkey, with its tremendous import for one of the future great Christian empires of the world, calls not for retrenchment, but for efficient enterprise and great enlargement. We add that great outrages, murders and robberies and other impositions have been committed upon our missionaries in Turkey, which have never been properly atoned by the Turkish government, and for which our own government has never properly sought redress. We wish to ex-

press our serious judgment that a much more energetic policy is required, — we do not say for the protection of the missionaries, but for the honor of the country.” — Dr. Elias Riggs, on account of the increasing feebleness of his wife, has felt obliged to remove from Constantinople to Aintab, where she may have the more immediate care of her daughter, Mrs. Trowbridge. As Dr. Wood says: “What a missionary career has that of Dr. and Mrs. Riggs been! Six years in Greece, twenty-three (including a visit to the United States) in Smyrna, and twenty-seven in Constantinople, — fifty-three years of patient, steady work in these lands, with only one vacation for a season to Dr. Riggs in his native land! . . . It is cheering to know that, though Constantinople is the field of special adaptation to Dr. Riggs’s high qualifications for literary labors, he will be able to be greatly useful, as his strength may allow, with the pen, and by instruction of students, in the sphere to which divine Providence has removed him.” — Rev. George A. Ford writes from Sidon, October 4th: “The Sultan is now putting forth his hand to vex certain of our schools, in pursuance of the policy whereby he hopes to break up all foreign missions in his empire, in hope to save his prestige. . . . The days of consular influence, for the protection of missionary interests, are past in Syria. . . . We would record with gratitude that with the five governors whose seats are within our district we stand on pleasant terms, so that our dealings with them are comparatively easy.” Mr. Ford says that the rights of the people are much better secured, and robbery very much more rigorously suppressed than formerly, though unhappily taxes have become heavier. — Dr. Jessup writes, in March, that the government had closed four of their schools in the Hasson district of the Tripoli field. In another letter Dr. Jessup throws additional light on the unfavorable change in the temper of the Turkish government. “The missionary work in Turkey is passing through a critical period. The reactionary party among the Turkish public men is at length thoroughly alarmed. Men everywhere are beginning to think, and thinking men do not suit despotisms. They do not like the independent American way of doing things. They are even suppressing native literary societies, formed by young men of different sects for mutual improvement. In Constantinople the authorities have forbidden Bible colportage, and on what ground? On the ground that the authorities have so great reverence for the Bible that they cannot bear to see it hawked about as if it were merchandise.” — A striking commentary on one aspect of missionary influence in Syria is given in the words of the Mohammedan husband of a Mohammedan wife who had been taught by a native Christian woman. He called on her to thank her for having trained his wife so well. Said he to the husband: “I wish to tell you that I am a rough man; have been in all kinds of iniquity. When I married I expected to beat and abuse my wife, and then to divorce her. But, sir, this girl won my love. Our three children are the best behaved in the neighborhood. I have no other wife.” Indeed, of all the numerous Moslem girls thus taught *not one has been divorced*, and, so far as known, *each one has remained the sole wife*. — Elder Ibrahim Sarkis, of the church at Beirut, who died during the year, is known as a writer of choice Arabic hymns. “He was respected and beloved to an extraordinary degree, and all sects — Protestants, Greeks, Maronites, Moslems — mourned his death and gathered at his funeral to honor his memory.” — Rome certainly owes an account to the world of her stewardship over the little church of the Maronites. A

party of them lately appeared in the Protestant church at Tripoli, Syria, of whom some "had never so much as heard of Christ." — Dr. H. H. Jessup says: "From the prime minister downward, the policy is reactionary and fanatical. And yet, with all this, Turkey is more liberal than Russia, and less repressive than Austria." — Dr. Thomson (says the "Foreign Missionary"), secretary of the British Foreign Bible Society at Constantinople, notes it as an encouraging fact that when Dr. Somerville was in Constantinople, at every succeeding meeting the number of his Mussulman hearers went on increasing, until on one occasion there were as many as fifty, and most of them *hodjas*, or authorized teachers of the faith. The fact is, that, in the capital, *more Scriptures are sold to Mohammedans than to any other class of the population.*" No wonder, then, that the auguries as to the future drawn by Dr. Van Dyck and Dr. W. H. Ward and Sir Wilfrid Blunt are gloomily reëchoed in the mind of the Constantinopolitan Caliph. — It is fortunate, in view of this increasing sale of the Scriptures among the Turks, that "a greatly needed and most opportune revision of the Turkish Bible" has been completed. Great pains have been taken with this, both as to substance and as to style. "More than ever is there arising and deepening an interest in books and reading among the Turks. The possession of an attractive, intelligible, interesting book is in itself an object of their desire." — The "Herald" for February, 1886, calls attention to the various ways in which the freedom of conscience promised by the *hatti humayoun* of 1856 and the Berlin declaration of 1878 is violated. One is that the pagan Nusirayehs of Syria, many of whom are now Christianized, are all registered as Moslems, and restrained, in the army, from Christian worship. In Asia Minor, Mehmed Effendi, who, with his fifteen pupils, had embraced the gospel, was, with them, forced into the army, contrary to the privileges of the literary class. What has become of them no Christian is allowed to know. The Protestant civil community, whose *vekil* or civil head resigned two years ago, has not since been permitted to elect one, and is thus deprived of its effective organization. The rights of Protestant education, and, finally, of Protestant worship, have, even in the pettiest villages, been denied, except on condition of direct authorizations from the Porte; all in thorough accord with what is said above of the determination of Abdul Hamid to magnify the religious side of his sovereignty. — The "Foreign Missionary" remarks that the earnest spirit of the Syrophœnician woman still lingers around "the coasts of Tyre and Sidon." At Joon the largest contribution to the church was made this year by a female servant, who gave fifteen hundred piastres. — At Mejdél and Ain Kunyeh the school buildings were violently closed by the government, and the latter is still closed. The "Foreign Missionary" also speaks of "the rapidly growing hatred of the government for foreign influences, and Moslem jealousy of Christian education. These illegal interferences begin at points far removed from consular observation; do not originate with the local authorities, but are the result of pressure from Constantinople. This is the great shadow, every year gathering blackness, which now overhangs our whole mission work in Syria."

PERSIA. — The native Christians have received from the Shah a contribution of eight hundred dollars towards the building of a new church. — The missionaries of the Presbyterian Board testify warmly to the zeal of the Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin, lately our Minister to Persia, in the maintenance of their rights as United States citizens. No doubt his suc-

cessor will show the same. — The missionaries have been greatly cheered by the visit of a special delegate from the Synod of New York, the revered and beloved Dr. Nelson, the first delegate from the churches at home, not a missionary, whom they had ever received. How strengthening such a visit is none can fully know who has not been in such a field. They say: "The presence in the Knooshya" — a Conference of Protestants — "of Dr. Nelson, and his addresses, through an interpreter, captivated the hearts of all. They were charmed by his very manner and tones, and could scarcely be satisfied with their limited opportunities for hearing the 'venerable father.' It has done them great good, I believe, to see one of the able and devout men who influence the counsels of the great Presbyterian Church in America, and support this missionary work. We beg that we may see many more such on our field." — Mr. Labaree reports that the college is full to its maximum number (sixty), and an enlarged preparatory department has been added to the female seminary. A new high school has been opened, making four in all, where the boys board themselves. They are a very popular branch of the work. — Rev. S. G. Wilson says: "The Christian public have not been called upon sufficiently to rejoice over the publication of another version of the entire Bible. This time it is in the Ararat-Armenian, a dialect which has the sweetness of a mother-tongue to 600,000 Armenians in Caucasus and Persia." — Rev. J. H. Shedd says: "The first Sunday of April was the feast of the Resurrection, which our reformed people observe with as much interest as the old Church. It was the Communion Sabbath at Geogtapa, and a memorable day this year, as it was last. I was invited, and preached for them. The congregation was near five hundred. Seventy-six new members were received, and over sixty propounded for the next communion. The gospel is prevailing certainly in that village, and drawing into the Church the mass of the people. The new members and candidates embrace a large number of young men, both married and single." — On July 15th and 16th the semi-centennial jubilee of the Nestorian Mission was celebrated on the college grounds at Oroomiah. Fifteen hundred men and women assembled, — a more orderly, rationally devout and steadily attentive company, it is remarked, than could be brought together elsewhere between the Euphrates and the Indus. The exercises lasted two days. "The air was redolent with the precious memories of early missionaries, especially of Miss Fiske and Miss Rice. The presence of some of their first pupils added no little interest to the occasion. One gray-haired woman, one of Miss Fiske's earliest girls, came a distance of two days, half the way on foot, over rough mountain roads, to attend the jubilee." One thing marks the difference between 1835 and 1885: then there was not a woman in Oroomiah that could read; now, when the women who could read were asked to rise, three fourths of them stood up. — Dr. E. W. Alexander writes that medical missionary work is actively carried on in Oroomiah, and in the new stations of Tabriz, Salmas, Teheran, Hamadan. In these four stations a total of twenty thousand patients are attended annually. "Of these twenty thousand a large majority are Mohammedans, who have been trained from childhood to hate all Christians, but whose prejudices vanish, to a great extent, with their pains."

*Charles C. Starbuck.*



## BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

THE "DIDACHE" VIEWED IN ITS RELATIONS TO OTHER WRITINGS.<sup>1</sup>

It is proposed to discuss in this paper the peculiar and complicated relations which the "Didache" bears to other ancient writings, and to present the conclusions at which we arrive in regard to its origin and structure.

The most prominent fact in connection with the "Didache" is the close relationship which its first five chapters sustain to the Epistle of Barnabas or in the Latin fragment of the *Doctrina Apostolorum*, the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Apostolical Constitutions. The first and fundamental question which this relationship suggests is, With what did the common matter of these different works originate? With this question we shall first concern ourselves.

I. What is the original source of the common matter which appears in the documents mentioned? Upon this point the opinions of investigators are greatly divided. The majority have found the original either in Barnabas or in the "Didache," but a few critics, seeing the inadequacy of either supposition to explain the facts of the case, have put back of both an older source. This we consider the only tenable hypothesis, and yet, while accepting it, we differ entirely, as will appear, with its strongest advocate, Professor Warfield,<sup>2</sup> in regard to the nature of the original and its existing representative.

To prove the position that an older source lies back of the "Didache" and Barnabas, we wish to show, first, that the common matter as found in Barnabas is not original, but must have been drawn from an earlier source, and secondly, that our Bryennios's "Didache" is not that source. That the Barnabas appendix is not the original of the common matter has been maintained by many writers,<sup>3</sup> some of whose arguments we may briefly recapitulate.

Barnabas throughout his Epistle is a copier who works over a mass of oral and written traditions, and it is most natural therefore to suppose that he copies in this section also. Again, at the end of chapter xvii., he seems to look back over his Epistle as if it were completed, and then goes on to say, "Let us pass over to another knowledge and teaching." These words certainly imply nothing less than that the writer is about to make use of new material. The word *γνώσις*, which is here added to *διδασχίη*, is (as Holtzmann remarks) characteristic of the author of the Epistle (being found in no less than ten different sections), and denotes the high authority of what he is about to give. When we come to exam-

<sup>1</sup> [The following paper was prepared before the appearance of Professor Warfield's contribution in the December number of this *Review*. Such coincidences as occur are the result of independent investigations. — Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> See his able essay upon the Latin fragment in Schaff's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 220 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*; Theil iii., pp. 312-314. E. L. H., *The Guardian*, June 25, 1884. Funk, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1884, p. 399 sq. Holtzmann, *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1885; Heft i., p. 158 sq. Brown, in Hitchcock and Brown's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. xxxii. sq.



ine the section itself (chapters xviii.-xx.) the style and arrangement betray at once all the marks of a copy. That the orderly and logical arrangement which appears in all the other documents could have originated with the confused and disordered mass which is found in Barnabas seems upon the face of it impossible. Striking illustrations of this lack of order are given by Zahn, by E. L. H., and by Brown, and many of them are seen to be such as can be satisfactorily explained only upon the supposition that Barnabas quoted from an older source, and, either through lack of memory or with the intention of showing his independence, changed utterly the arrangement of the original. The most noticeable of the many cases is perhaps the insertion of the words *φωλάξεις ἀπαρέλαβες* in Barnabas xix. 11, where they make no sense, and where they could not possibly have been placed by the original writer. We need not repeat more of the numerous arguments urged by others, but may add to them the following considerations.

That Barnabas's arrangement is not the original is indicated by the fact that all the other witnesses, the Latin, the "Didache," the Canons, and the Constitutions, follow a totally different order and at the same time agree almost exactly among themselves. It seems much more natural to suppose Barnabas a confused and sporadic copy, entirely out of the line of development, than to suppose it the source from which was later developed the arrangement which appears with scarcely a variation in all other witnesses. And yet again, the words, "light and darkness," by which the two ways are characterized in Barnabas, must be a change from an original source and not the original itself. For were these words original the unanimity with which the other witnesses, the "Didache," the Canons (which follow Barnabas in many points), and the Constitutions, use the words, "life and death," with no mention of "light and darkness," could not be explained. The expression "light and darkness" is a favorite one with Barnabas,<sup>1</sup> who is fond of figurative language, and its substitution here for "life and death" is thus easily explained. That he knew of the original "life and death" is seen from his words in chapter xx. 1, "For it is a way of eternal death." In view of these arguments it seems certain that Barnabas, in chapters xviii.-xx., must have drawn from an earlier source.

In the second place, that this earliest source cannot be the "Didache" as we have it admits of equally solid proof. Professor Warfield remarks, "Only a few of the most discerning spirits saw that on the one hand Barnabas bears all the marks of a copier, and on the other the 'Didache' fails to furnish the matter which he borrowed, and therefore felt bound to assume that they both borrowed their common matter from a third source."<sup>2</sup> While concurring with him in this conclusion, we do not base it upon the same grounds. Our first reason for believing that the "Didache," as we have it, is not the source of Barnabas is not that it "fails to furnish the matter which Barnabas borrowed," but that Barnabas failed to use so much which the "Didache" does furnish. The argument is a *silentio*, and yet when we examine the matter which Barnabas omits we shall, as it seems to us, find the argument conclusive. The most striking omission is the section "Didache" iii. 1-6. Examining the matter and the style of this section, it occurs to us at once that Bar-

<sup>1</sup> See chapter v. 4, where the "way of darkness" is spoken of; and xx. 1, where it is called the "way of the black [one]" (*τοῦ μέλανος*).

<sup>2</sup> Schaff's *Teaching*, p. 221.

nabas would certainly have used it had he known of it. How he could have forgotten or could have resisted employing material so exactly in accordance with his taste is inconceivable. The figurative manner of expression would have delighted him. The balancing of the clauses, one over against another, and the heaping up of particulars under each head are just what we should have expected from him. And yet he shows not the slightest trace of this section in any part of his Epistle. The conclusion seems inevitable that it was unknown to him.

Again; the section "Didache" i. 3-ii. 1 is omitted not only by Barnabas, but also by the Latin fragment and the Canons. This threefold omission can be explained only upon the supposition that the document (whatever it was) from which these three drew likewise omitted this section. In other words, the "Didache," as we have it, could not have been the source from which these three drew their common material.

To these considerations we may add the very important fact that there is strong reason for supposing that a document of the general nature of the first half of our "Didache" circulated in the church independently of the second half. The name "Duæ Viæ," under which it is supposed by most writers that our "Didache" is referred to, is applicable only to the first six chapters. Still further, Barnabas and the Canons who use these chapters so freely show no knowledge of the remaining chapters.

Again, as remarked by Harnack, Krawutzky, and others, Athanasius, in speaking of the *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* as used for the instruction of Catechumens,<sup>1</sup> could not have included the latter half of the "Didache," which is entirely inapplicable to catechumens, — indeed is addressed, in distinction from the first half, to the officers and members of the church, the plural form of address being used instead of the singular. When we add to this the fact that Athanasius used the singular *Διδαχὴ*, as if speaking of a single well-known document, the conclusion is very strong that he knows nothing of our "Didache," as a whole, but refers to a document which covers the substance of no more than the first six chapters. This document, when considered in the light of the facts already stated, is most naturally identified as to its general substance with the original source for which we are searching.<sup>2</sup>

We may refer here, as additional testimony for the independent existence of the original document which we have described, to the mention of the "Didache" by Nicephorus of Constantinople. He refers to it in his "Stichometry,"<sup>3</sup> and gives its length as two hundred lines. This measurement, as shown by Gordon,<sup>4</sup> instead of favoring a reference to the Bryennios "Didache" opposes it. The length of the Epistles of Clement (2,600 lines, according to Nicephorus) is 1,120 lines in the "Jerusalem" manuscript. Upon this calculation the "Didache" of Nicephorus must have been but about two fifths of the length of the Bryennios "Didache." This very significantly corresponds closely to the length of our supposed original in the augmented form used, as shown later, by Clement and

<sup>1</sup> Athanasius, *Fest. Ep.* 39 ed. Migne, ii., col. 1437.

<sup>2</sup> Our conclusion seems far more natural, and certainly fits the facts of the case better, than that of Professor Brown, who, in speaking of the lack of acquaintance with chapter vii. sq. on the part of the Canons, says: "It is very natural that the early chapters which the author of the 'Teaching' himself designates as required in pre-baptismal instruction should actually have become detached from their original connection, and been circulated by themselves" (p. xviii.).

<sup>3</sup> Migne, i., col. 1060.

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Review*, July, 1884, p. 455.

Athanasius. An examination of the list given by Nicephorus shows that it follows exactly the list found in Pseudo-Athanasius ("Synopsis," § 76), and implies that the writer had in mind the particular document there referred to. And besides, his use of the singular διδασχῆ agrees with Athanasius and Rufinus over against Eusebius. We can, therefore, claim Nicephorus, with right, as a witness to the independent existence of the original document.

We conclude, then, as a result of our investigations that an original source underlies the common matter of the "Didache," of Barnabas, of the Latin fragment, and of the other parallels. The references to this document by subsequent writers will be considered later.

II. Having thus proved the existence of a common source we have next to investigate the place and date of its composition. We refer it, without hesitation, and with little fear of contradiction, to Egypt, and put its composition as early as the latter part of the first century.

For Egypt speaks the fact that it was known and used there by Barnabas, and by the Canons, was quoted by Clement of Alexandria, and referred to by Athanasius. Both for Egypt and for an early date speaks the lack of quotations not only from the New Testament as a whole, but also from the separate books. The only other region that has been urged with any show of probability for the origination of the "Didache," as a whole, is Syria, including Palestine. All the arguments which have been given for its Syrian authorship are applicable, as will be seen upon examining them, only to the latter half. Among these arguments the only one which may, at first glance, be supposed to support the Syrian authorship of the original "Two Ways" is the number of quotations from the Gospel of Matthew which it is said to contain. As to this point it is very significant to notice that, of the eighteen to twenty-two quotations in the "Didache" which are referred to Matthew, but six occur in the first six chapters; and, further, of these six, three occur in the section i. 3-ii. 1, which is omitted in Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons, and which, as we shall later in this paper endeavor to prove, is a Syrian addition. Of the remaining quotations the one in "Didache" iii. 7, "Be thou meek for the meek shall inherit the earth," is referred by all commentators to Matthew v. 3. It is important to remark that it is not an exact quotation from Matthew, but is taken literally, with the single insertion of the article before γῆν, from the LXX of Psalms xxxvii. 11. Again, in Barnabas are found only the words "Be thou meek," the last clause being omitted. We are not obliged, therefore, to suppose a knowledge of Matthew on the part of the writer of the original document. We are at liberty to conclude either that the latter part of the clause was quoted by the original directly from Psalm xxxvii., or, what is far more probable in view of the omission of Barnabas, that it did not stand in the original, but was inserted afterward by the "Didache" and the Canons independently, very likely under the suggestion of the use of the clause by Matthew. That the compiler of the Canons depended upon Matthew at this point rather than upon the original source seems probable, when we notice his substitution of the words "Kingdom of Heaven" for "the earth" against all witnesses, even the Coptic Canons. These words were probably taken by him, through a slip of the memory, from the conclusion of the first and similar beatitude. The variation at this point favors the view that the concluding clause did not exist in the original source. That the words "Be thou

meek" of the original were not taken from Matthew is further probable from the fact that all the other beatitudes are omitted, though at least a part of them might be expected here owing to their applicability to the subject in hand.

The two remaining quotations occur in i. 2, and are referred, the one to Matthew xxii. 37-39; the other to Matthew vii. 12. Of the first, "Thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself," it may be said, unhesitatingly, that it is not a quotation from Matthew. This will appear very clearly upon comparison with the Canons and Constitutions, which insert characteristic features of the Matthew passage which do not occur in the "Didache." The commands occur frequently in the Old Testament (for example, Deuteronomy vi. 5, and Leviticus xix. 18), and they must have been constantly upon the lips of the early Christians as forming the very basis of the Christianity taught by Christ. Of the second, which is referred to Matthew vii. 2, it may be said that it is neither in form (the form is negative) nor in words a quotation from Matthew. It is no more than a formulation of the oral tradition as to Christ's teaching on the subject, and falls below his true teaching to the level of already existing principles of morality. The Gospel, the authentic record of his words, first gave the positive form. When we compare the want of quotation, thus shown, with the profuse use of the Gospel of Matthew in the remainder of the "Didache," the argument for the Egyptian authorship of our original document becomes very strong.

We may remark, finally, upon this subject, that if the "Didache" as a whole dates from Egypt, then all reason for referring the original source to Syria vanishes. If, on the other hand, the "Didache" as a whole belongs to Syria (as we shall endeavor to prove) then, accepting our position that there existed an original document, we must assign it to Egypt, or accept an almost inconceivable series of transmissions and retransmissions from one country to the other.

The date of Barnabas (not much later than 100 A. D., or even earlier, according to Funk) compels us to put this original source well back into the last quarter of the first century. There is nothing in the document itself to preclude so early a date; indeed, internal indications point that way, especially its apparent ignorance of all of our Gospels. There is nothing, in fact, which would prevent a still earlier date. But enough that it is to be put as far back as the last quarter of the first century.

III. We must next study the nature of this original and the course of its transmission.

It consisted, to speak in a general way, of the first five chapters of our "Didache," with the omission of i. 3-ii. 1, and iii. 1-6. Barnabas omits the latter section, which can be explained, as shown already, only by its omission in the source from which he drew. Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons all omit the section i. 3-ii. 1, which can be explained only upon a like supposition. This section looks upon the face of it like an interpolation. It is made up wholly of quotations quite against the style of the rest of the "Two Ways" document, and the awkwardness of the phrase ii. 1, inserted to introduce the resumption of the original, broken off at i. 3, betrays a later hand.

This document, originating in Egypt in the latter part of the first century, was first used in a very loose and illogical way by Barnabas, who quoted probably in great part from memory, or, as suggested by Zahn,

changed the order intentionally, with the design of appearing independent, and thus produced an arrangement totally different from that of the original. That the original cannot agree with Barnabas in its arrangement is evident from the preponderance of testimony against it. The same internal arguments, also, which were urged to prove that Barnabas could not be its own original stand here against a similar arrangement of the source from which it drew.

The Latin translation followed, basing itself upon the original source, but at the same time, with the customary liberty of a translation, taking some matter from Barnabas, and perhaps adding new material of its own. This, as a Latin translation, exercised apparently no influence upon the development of the Greek document, as no traces of it are found in the later Greek recensions. The translation may have been made in the West, though its use of Barnabas renders it probable that it belongs to Egypt. That the Latin fragment follows Barnabas rather than precedes it is evident from its use of the two expressions, "life and death," "light and darkness," over against the single phrase "light and darkness" of Barnabas, and the single phrase "life and death" of all the other witnesses.<sup>1</sup> Had the original contained both expressions how can we explain the agreement of these other witnesses in the single phrase "life and death" and their absolute silence as to the "light and darkness"? The reason for Barnabas's substitution has been mentioned already (page 431), and seems sufficient. When the bearing of this has been carefully considered we submit that the conclusion as to the priority of the Latin, drawn from a comparison of the clauses in regard to the angels,<sup>2</sup> must be overweighed. And, indeed, with no more than the single sentence from which to argue, we confess ourselves unable to conclude that the Latin, on account of its greater brevity at this point, must have been original, and that its statement could not have resulted from a condensation of the Barnabas clause. The insertion of the clause by Barnabas seems very natural, having been suggested by the use of *ἐξουσίας* preceding, which was introduced as a complement to *διδαχῆς*. Wishing to justify the insertion and to explain and illustrate its meaning, he did it, in his usual figurative manner, by describing the ways as ruled over, the one by the angel of God and the other by the angel of Satan. Whether the conception originated with him or with Hermas matters not.

We may at this point discuss briefly the relation of Hermas to the documents which we are considering. He shows a resemblance at certain points which implies some sort of connection. We may throw out at once, however, all supposed connection of Hermas Vis. iii. 4 with "Didache" iv. 7, 8 and Barnabas xix. 8 and 11; also of Mand. xi. with "Didache" xi. In this last both go back upon Matthew vii. 15-20, but both go their own way independently of each other.<sup>3</sup> But Mand. vi. 2 presents a resemblance to the angel clause of Barnabas and the Latin which seems to show dependence upon one side or the other.

<sup>1</sup> Against Warfield, who not only puts the Latin before Barnabas, but also makes it the representative of the original source. The latter view seems absolutely refuted by the existence of the angel clause which, omitted as it is by the *Didache* and by the Canons, could not have belonged to the original source. That the Latin is even later than Barnabas the argument we have given above seems to prove. Warfield appears to have overlooked the important bearings of the significant phrases quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Warfield: *Schaff's Teaching*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des N. T. Kanons*, Th. iii., p. 315.



In the previous section (Mand. vi. 1) "two ways" are mentioned, the one straight (ὁρθή), the other crooked (στροβιλή). This favors the supposition of some connection between the documents. We have no data in the passage itself for determining which is the original. If the early date of *Hermas* be maintained,<sup>1</sup> knowing its speedy transmission throughout Christendom, we should conclude that both *Barnabas* and the Latin drew from him. If, however, the late date of *Hermas* be accepted,<sup>2</sup> we must suppose that he knew either *Barnabas* or the version of the "Two Ways" represented by the Latin translation.

Both *Barnabas* and the Latin may very likely have reached Rome before the middle of the second century. The point is one of small importance at any rate, and in the present state of uncertainty as to the date of *Hermas* it is impossible to decide with any degree of assurance.

*Hermas*, Mand. viii. 3-5, has a list of specifications which suggest the "way of death" of our original source. A connection here is possible though by no means certain. Internal evidence tells us nothing as to which was the copier, but the early date of the original "Two Ways" renders it probable that it had reached Rome before *Hermas* wrote, and might well, therefore, have been familiar to him. The connection of Mand. ii. 4-6 with "Didache" i. 5 will be considered later.

We may at this point mention *Lactantius*. The *Divine Institutes* (Bk. vi. chap. 3), and the *Epitome* (chap. 59) exhibit parallels to the early portions of the documents under discussion. We think that Dr. von Gebhardt, who discusses these parallels carefully,<sup>3</sup> has shown conclusively that *Lactantius* (in ideas though not in language) drew directly from the Latin. We should judge from this that the *Duae Viae* known in the West was essentially the Latin *Doctrina* of which we possess a fragment.

After the writing of *Barnabas* — whether before or after the Latin translation we have no certain means of knowing — the original source was augmented by the addition of the section "Didache" iii. 1-6. That this must have been added at the latest early in the second century is proved by the fact that a clause from it ("Didache" iii. 5) is quoted by *Clement of Alexandria*<sup>4</sup> as γραφή, which implies that it formed an integral undisputed part of a writing which he refers to under that term. The writing itself, as we have seen, belongs to the latter part of the first century, and was, therefore, very naturally looked upon by *Clement* as *Scripture* in the wider sense, but were this section an interpolation of late date, many copies of the original must have been in circulation without it, and the passage well known to be spurious could hardly have been quoted by him in such a way. And again, the early date of the addition is proved by the fact that it appears in our completed "Didache" (which, as we shall prove later, belongs to Syria), and must, therefore, have been added before the transmission of the original to that country.

The "Didache," augmented in this way, and with perhaps slight changes incident upon the copying and transmitting of any document, became gradually stereotyped in form, was used for the instruction of catechumens, and was regarded as *Scripture* in the broad sense. In the

<sup>1</sup> 97-100 according to Zahn.

<sup>2</sup> Latter half of the second century. See article of Dr. Hort in the *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, December, 1884, in which he shows that *Hermas* made use of Theodotion's version of *Daniel*.

<sup>3</sup> See Harnack, pp. 283-286.

<sup>4</sup> Strom. i. 20, Potter's ed., p. 377.



third century it was used in the compilation of the Ecclesiastical Canons. These follow very closely the substance and arrangement of the augmented source over against Barnabas,<sup>1</sup> but at the same time are evidently acquainted with Barnabas, and occasionally insert clauses taken from him (see, for example, the opening sentences of the two works).

It is this augmented source which is mentioned by Athanasius as *Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*. The document in its Latin translation, whether with or without the section of the "Didache" iii. 1-6 we have no means of knowing, was familiar to the Western church under the name "Duae Viae," or "Judicium Petri," and the Latin name better known in the West was very naturally substituted by Rufinus<sup>2</sup> for the *Διδαχὴ* of Athanasius.

In the mean time, while the "Two Ways" was thus assuming a stereotyped form in Egypt, a transmission of the document to Syria took place. This transmission must have followed the addition of the section "Didache" iii. 1-6, for this section is found in the Syriac recensions. It must have occurred very early, — not later than 110 A. D., — probably as early as the very beginning of the century. Supposing the addition of the section just named to have taken place after the compilation of Barnabas, we can yet put the transmission as far back as 100, if we accept Funk's date for the Epistle of Barnabas (96-98). But we are not compelled to suppose that Barnabas chronologically precedes this addition; we have only to suppose the section to have been added to a copy of the original which Barnabas had not seen; the recension which fell into his hands having remained unchanged. This point, however, is of small importance; we can, in any case, suppose the addition to have been made soon enough to allow of the transmission of the augmented document to Syria very early in the second century.

In Syria the document gradually received new additions, notably the sections i. 3-ii. 1<sup>3</sup> (consisting of quotations from Matthew and from

<sup>1</sup> Warfield puts Barnabas, the Latin fragment, and the Canons together as representing one recension over against the *Didache* and the Constitutions. It will be seen from what has already been said that this is only in part true. The Canons stand against Barnabas and with the *Didache* and the Constitutions in two very important particulars: the general arrangement of the matter, and the insertion of the section *Didache* iii. 1-6. In the light of this comparison, the two recensions, as held by him, seem to be the result of a too superficial generalization, resting as it does upon only a small part of the observed facts. No such generalization fits all the phenomena.

<sup>2</sup> Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbol. Apost.*, c. 33, ed. Migne; col. 374.

<sup>3</sup> The *Judicium* given by Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. 1, ed. Vallarsi, tom. ii. col. 813), among Peter's works is probably to be identified with this document.

<sup>4</sup> The date of the section i. 3-ii. 1 is difficult to determine. The question depends upon its relation to Hermas. Mand. ii. 4-6 resembles *Did.* i. 5 so closely that some connection must be admitted. The passage in Hermas read in its connection does not give us the impression of a quotation. The style of the whole section is uniform, and we can discover no points at which a quotation begins or ends.

Again, as Zahn remarks, the quotation (on whichever side it was made) is very exact verbally, and it is not likely that Hermas would quote from a late apocryphal book so much more closely than from any of the New Testament books. Still further, the *Didache* contains, in close connection, words from Matthew, and also a very striking quotation from an unknown source, all of which Hermas omits; an omission not easy to explain if he used the *Didache*.

In regard to the passage as it stands in the *Didache*, we may remark that

other sources) and chapter vi. ; and became, in the course of time, somewhat changed, perhaps, in minor points of style and arrangement. As thus altered (though in all probability as yet without the section i. 3-ii. 1), it was combined by a Syrian or Palestinian writer with a series of ordinances relating chiefly to church rites and discipline, and the document thus completed formed the "*Didache*" essentially as we now have it, and was given the name "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*" from the fact that its first part already bore that honorable name, and the doctrine of the whole was known to be in strict accord with that taught by the Apostles in Palestine and in the East, and especially by James of Jerusalem. Proceeding from some church of that region closely related in spirit to the Jerusalem church, it could with peculiar fitness assume the name "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*."

There are reasons for supposing that the bulk of the second part already existed and was in use in this part of the church. The fact that the first half rests upon an earlier source furnishes at least a presumption for this. But however this be, the combination as we have it, — the issue of the document as a manual for catechetical instruction and for the use of church officers and members, — must have taken place early in the century ; not later, certainly, than the first quarter, probably before 120.<sup>1</sup>

the *Didache* quotes throughout the section, and it is probable, therefore, that this, too, is a quotation. If a quotation, we know of no source except *Hermas* from which it could have been taken.

Again, the *Didache* speaks expressly of a *commandment* (τὴν ἐντολήν), "*Blessed is he that gives according to the commandment*," and then follows the parallel with *Hermas*. *Hermas* calls the directions which he has given — the substance of which stands in the *Didache* — a *commandment*, concluding the section with the words *φύλασσε οὖν τὴν ἐντολήν ταύτην*. The connection is certainly significant.

Still further, *Clement of Alex.*, who shows a knowledge of this or a similar passage (*Fragm. ex Nicetas Catena*, in *Matt.* v. 42, *Potter's ed.*, p. 1013), agrees more closely with *Hermas* than with the *Didache*. It is probable, therefore, that both he and the *Didache* drew from *Hermas*. (*Clem. Alex.* uses *Hermas* frequently, often mentioning him by name.) The question as to the date of this section, then, will depend upon the date of *Hermas*. If we agree with *Zahn* in putting *Hermas* as early as 100, we are no nearer a decision as to the date of the section than before. If, however, as the discovery of *Dr. Hort* seems to necessitate, we put *Hermas* as late as 150, this section must be thrown into the latter half of the second century. A confirmation of the lateness of the insertion is found in the fact that the *Constitutions* omit a part of this section, and show variations throughout which seem to imply that there lay before the compiler a recension of the *Didache* made before the addition of this section, while he added, at this point, matter which he had seen in other and later recensions, but perhaps only vaguely remembered. The *Const.* (Bk. iv. c. 3) show a clear use of the fragment of *Clement* mentioned above in a lengthy quotation almost verbally exact. The exactness of the quotation, together with the omission of all matter characteristic of the *Didache* section, and the fact that the first six books nowhere show a knowledge of the *Didache*, prove that the *Constitutions* at this point drew directly from *Clement*, without the interposition of the *Didache*. *Clement*, meanwhile, and the *Didache*, in their agreement with *Hermas*, while omitting the characteristic features each of the other, show their direct dependence upon him and their independence of each other.

<sup>1</sup> The early date of the last half of the *Didache* can be fully established upon purely internal grounds. (See *Hitchcock and Brown*, p. xc. sq. ; *Schaff*, p. 119 sq.) If it belongs to Syria, the simplicity of its ecclesiastical organiza-

The "Didache" thus completed became, later, the basis of the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which adheres very closely to its original in general arrangement, but shows at the same time resemblances in certain points to the Egyptian documents, which lead us to suppose it based upon a recension of the "Didache," varying slightly from that which we now possess in the direction of the Egyptian original.

IV. We have thus assigned our completed "Didache" to Syria or Palestine. Let us examine in detail our reasons for this position, some of which have already been mentioned in the course of our discussion. As remarked above, the choice lies between Egypt on the one hand and Syria, including Palestine, on the other.

To begin with the external grounds for our position.

First, the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which dates from Syria, is based upon the "Didache" as a whole, following its order and arrangement almost without a variation, and it is a significant fact that it is the only known work which bears such a relation to it. The presumption is certainly very strong that the document thus employed by the Constitutions belongs not to that country in which every trace of its existence is lacking, but to the region to which the Constitutions themselves belong.

Further, three witnesses, Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons (at least two of which are known to be Egyptian), omit a certain section ("Didache," i. 3-ii. 1) which is found in the "Didache" and in the Constitutions, which stand thus, in this particular, over against the other three witnesses. Our presumption is certainly strengthened by this fact.

Again, the course of transmission which we have supposed puts into the region of Syria two documents bearing the same name, but very different as to scope, contents, and length; one, the short moral treatise; the other, the longer manual for church use, including the former, and yet at the same time differing entirely from it in its aim, and in all probability not wholly superseding it in the church of that region. When Eusebius, then, speaks of *αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί*,<sup>1</sup> we see that his plural exactly fits the state of the case as we have supposed it to exist in Syria. It is inconceivable that he could have used the plural to designate simply variant copies or recensions of the same work. The term must include works actually differing as to scope and matter; we know of none which could be called by that name except our "Didache" as a whole, and the

tion as compared with the developing episcopacy of the Ignatian Epistles stamps it at once as belonging to a period not later than the first quarter of the second century. We do not propose in this paper to enter into a discussion of the question of date. An early date has been maintained by many besides those mentioned, and is, as we think, satisfactorily proven. An Egyptian origin permits a somewhat later date, and leads Harnack to bring the terminus *ad quem* down to 160. But he grants that an earlier date must be accepted if the document be put into Syria. His arguments against a time before 120 do not seem at all conclusive. The one based upon a higher and lower grade of morality carries the most weight with it, but this is drawn from chap. vi., which is found only in part in the Constitutions, and, like section i. 3-ii. 1, may be a later interpolation.

<sup>1</sup> H. E., iii. 25; Migne, ii., col. 269. Nicephorus Callistus follows Eusebius in using the plural. *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 46; Migne, i., col. 888. So Anastasius Sinait., Patriarch of Antioch, at the end of his *Questiones*, according to a Paris manuscript quoted by Cotelierius in his *Patres Apost.* i. 197.

original "Two Ways," or "Didache," as it too was called.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, against an Egyptian origin is the fact already noticed, that Athanasius, in referring to the "Didache," could have meant only the first half. That he could not have included more is proved not only by the utter inapplicability of the latter half for the instruction of catechumens, but also by the fact that its position in regard to church organization is utterly at variance with the principles and practice of Athanasius's time. The seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which belongs probably to the same century, shows the changes which a compiler of that age thought it necessary to make in order to render the book appropriate for church use. And further, Athanasius's use of the singular proves that this was the only work of that name known to him and to those for whom his writings were intended, and precludes absolutely the possibility of the existence in Egypt in his time of a document of greater length and of a different nature, such as our present "Didache."<sup>2</sup>

Before turning to the internal evidence for our position we must discuss some supposed quotations from the latter half of the "Didache" which might be claimed to favor an Egyptian origin for the whole. Barnabas in chap. iv. is said to have used chap. xvi. 2 and 3 of the "Didache." Upon examination we find that the parallel narrows itself down to a single sentence. Comparing chap. iv. of Barnabas and chap. xvi. of the "Didache," sentence by sentence, we cannot fail to receive an impression that neither drew directly from the other; each contains so much which the other utterly ignores, and the two go their way apparently so perfectly unconscious of and so entirely uninfluenced by the course of the other. The "Didache" chapter is based upon Matt. xxiv.; Barnabas bears not the slightest resemblance to it. And yet Barnabas, as elsewhere, is made up throughout the chapter almost wholly of borrowed matter. No one pleading for the priority of either has yet been able to find any good reason in the passage itself for holding the originality of one in preference to the other. The conclusion, then, seems clear — as clear as in the case of the Barnabas appendix compared with the first chapters of the "Didache" — that both took the passage in question from a common source. We might throw out the suggestion (space forbids a discussion of it) that the original "Two Ways" may have possessed a hortatory, eschatological conclusion containing the passage in question.

Our attention is next called to Clement of Alexandria (*De Divite Servando*,<sup>3</sup> chap. xxix): "He who hath poured out the wine, the blood of the *vine of David*;" cf. "Didache," ix. 2: "We thank thee our Father for the *holy vine of David* thy servant which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant." The parallel is brief, but the peculiarity of the expression renders it striking. The representation of Christ as a vine was very common in the early church; Clement himself in another

<sup>1</sup> That Eusebius, although writing in Syria, may have been thinking of Egypt, and of the *Didache* current there, as well as of Syria, is of course possible, and yet the fact remains that his plural must have been meant to include two different works. Athanasius's singular admits of only one work known to him. If the *Didache* as a whole, then, is to be thrown into Egypt, the original source which furnishes ground for Eusebius's plural must be thrown out of Egypt, and we are then involved in all sorts of absurdities.

<sup>2</sup> The singular *Διδάχη* occurs twice in Athanasius's works: in his *Fest. Ep.* 39 (see above, p. 432 note); and in Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturæ Sacre*, § 76, ed. Montfaucon, ii. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Potter's ed., p. 952.

place (Paed. i. 15) speaks of the wine of the vine as allegorically signifying the blood of the Logos. The only thing to be accounted for then in the present case is the use of the compound phrase "vine of *David*." In regard to this we may remark that there is every reason to suppose that the second half of the "Didache," as well as the first, is a compilation from older sources. Many internal indications, into a discussion of which we cannot enter here, point that way.<sup>1</sup> No portion is more likely to have existed before the compilation than the liturgical forms. It is not probable that the individual compiler should himself have composed these; he undoubtedly recorded prayers already in general use. That Clement should know them, even though he did not know the "Didache," is not only possible, but probable. But, even if these words should be supposed to have originated with the "Didache," yet they might very speedily have become separated from that document, and, as liturgical forms spread both rapidly and widely, might well have been known in Egypt before Clement's time.

Let us turn now to the arguments for our position furnished by the "Didache" itself. All who have contended for a Syrian origin have done so solely on internal grounds, and in the face of what they have considered strong external testimony for an Egyptian authorship. Their arguments have all been met at the start by a counter-presumption, and have therefore received less consideration than many of them merited. Having established, as we think, a presumption upon external grounds in favor of an Asiatic origin for chapters vi.-xvi., we approach the question from an entirely different standpoint. Do internal indications, then, go against our presumption, or do they favor it?

We need not repeat the sound arguments urged by Dr. Schaff (pp. 123-127); the resemblance of the theology to that of James, the Jewish Christian tone (cf. Bryennios, p. 8'), and the significant phrase in the eucharistic prayer (ix. 4). We wish, however, to lay especial stress upon the great use which the "Didache" makes of the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>2</sup> It is a significant fact that of some eighteen clear references to that Gospel — or to Matthew in connection with Luke — every one of them belongs either to the latter half of the "Didache" or to the section i. 3-ii. 1, which we have assumed to date from Syria or Palestine. The bearing of this fact cannot be mistaken. Such a profuse use of a single Gospel at so early a date, and a use which is confined to certain well-defined portions of our document, portions which, upon other grounds, are shown to be of later and different origin, certainly argues very strongly for their origination in a region where that particular Gospel was especially known and used, and where was that but Syria or Palestine?

Still further, the designation of the prophets as "High priests" (xiii. 2), while pointing to the influence of Jewish rites and customs, shows at the same time that development in hierarchical views from which grew in the same part of the world, but a little later, the Epistles of Ignatius, with their great emphasis (betraying a transition state) upon the three orders of the ministry.

<sup>1</sup> For some evidences of this see Gordon, *Modern Review*, July, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the sparing use which Barnabas makes of the Gospel of Matthew. In the entire Epistle, so much greater in length than the *Didache*, we find but two clear quotations from Matthew; Barn. iv. 14, cf. Matt. xx. 16 and xxii. 14; and Barn. v. 9, cf. Matt. ix. 13. Even these two show an advance over the original *Two Ways*, which illustrates the difference in date.



Finally, Lucian's "Peregrinus Proteus" furnishes at least a presumption in favor of a Syrian or Palestinian origin for chapters xi. and xii.

Let us consider next the arguments which have been urged against our position. The argument for Egyptian authorship based upon the use of the "Didache" by Egyptian writers applies, as we have shown, only to the original "Two Ways." For the Egyptian origin of the remainder of the "Didache" is urged the fact that traveling teachers and apostles were numerous in Egypt. But from Eusebius (H. E. iii. 37)<sup>1</sup> we learn that such traveling evangelists were to be found everywhere during the first and second centuries. The directions in chapter xi. remind us of the sending out of the seventy in Palestine (a direct reference to the Gospel is made in xi. 3), and xi. 4 recalls the words of Matt. x. 40. Again it is urged that the "Didache" agrees with the Sahidic version of Upper Egypt in the form of its doxologies, which omit *βασιλεα*. But Gregory of Nyssa's use of the same form<sup>2</sup> destroys the force of this. And on the other hand the presence in so old a document of the doxology with the Lord's Prayer points toward Syria where (according to Westcott and Hort) the doxology originated.

The only argument of weight which has been urged against a Syrian origin is drawn from the undeveloped character of the ministry in the "Didache" as compared with the Epistles of Ignatius. In regard to this we may remark, first, that we assign the "Didache" to a date earlier than that of the Ignatian Epistles. In the second place the emphasis which Ignatius puts upon the episcopal office and his reiteration of the duty of obedience to the bishop betrays clearly a transition state, and prove that the office was neither so old nor so widely established as to stand undisputed. In his time the new office may not have been established even throughout the whole of Syria. Again, the "Didache" itself, as mentioned above, shows, in the designation of the prophets as "high priests," an advance in hierarchical views leading to though not reaching the position of Ignatius. And, still further, in chapter xv. there may be, as claimed by Gordon,<sup>3</sup> traces of this same progress toward a hierarchy.

We conclude, therefore, both upon external and internal grounds that our completed "Didache" belongs to the region of Syria or Palestine.

To sum up briefly the main results of our investigations, we hold that an earlier and as yet undiscovered source underlies the common matter of our parallel documents; that this source had its origin in Egypt; was used in the composition of Barnabas, and formed the basis of the Latin translation; was augmented somewhat and afterward quoted by Clement; was used by the Canons and referred to by Athanasius. As thus augmented it was carried to Syria, and became the basis of the first five chapters of our present "Didache," the compilation of which was the work of a Syrian or Palestinian writer.

Finally, we believe that the first five chapters of the Bryennios "Didache," with the omission of the sections i. 3-ii. 1, and iii. 1-6, are, though not indeed an exact, yet the best known representative of the original source.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

BERLIN, GERMANY, December, 1885.

<sup>1</sup> Migne, ii., cols. 292-293.

<sup>2</sup> *De Oratione Dominica*, V. Migne, i., col. 1193. See Schaff, p. 124 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Review*, July, 1884, p. 474.



THE LAST CHAPTER OF "THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES," ILLUSTRATED FROM PASSAGES IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

THE criticism of "The Teaching" thus far affords a striking example of the almost insuperable difficulty of interpreting correctly any literary monument without knowing its setting in the current ideas of its precise time and its relations to other written memorials. This applies especially to the themes of the last chapter, namely, the apostasy of the last time, the return of Christ, the power of Antichrist, and the end of the world. We have drifted so far from primitive ideas on these themes that we are simply left in obscurity and perplexity.

The idea of Antichrist, for example, was not that of an apostate church, nor of an infidel power that scorned all religion. It was of a counterfeit Christ who should deceive the world, draw men to an idolatrous worship, and have power to subject true believers to a fiery ordeal until he should be destroyed along with his followers by the reappearance of the real Christ.

Then the early Christians' idea of the end of the world was not the modern notion of a cyclical winding-up of nature, to which science has accustomed us, but of a destruction of the race *because of its wickedness*, the faithful being separated from the evil and established in a new heavens and earth.

For the sake of brevity I shall illustrate these two points together, taking the authors in their order of time. "The Teaching" will be found to fall naturally between certain passages of Scripture (2 Thess. ii. 2 Peter iii. 7, 10, 12; 2 John 7), and their development in the writings of the Fathers, who make additions from the Revelation, which last hardly seems to have been known to the author of "The Teaching."

I employ the translations of the Ante-Nicene Fathers:—

*Justin Martyr*: "Wherefore God delays causing the confusion and destruction of the whole world. . . . Since if it were not so . . . the fire of judgment would descend and utterly dissolve all things even as formerly the flood left no one but him only with his family who is by us called Noah." 2 *Ap.* chap. 7.

*Irenæus*: "For when he, Antichrist, is come and of his own accord concentrates in his own person the apostasy, . . . sitting also in the temple of God so that his dupes may adore him as the Christ; wherefore also shall he deservedly be cast into the lake of fire. . . . And he shall perform great wonders, so that he can even cause fire to descend from heaven upon the earth in the sight of men, and he shall lead the inhabitants of the earth astray." V. 28.

*Hippolytus*, as illustrating *ὁ κοσμοπλάτης ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ*: "For the deceiver seeks in all things to liken himself to a Son of God. . . . And in speaking of the horns being like a Lamb he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as a king." *Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 6 and 49.

*Origen*: "This also is a part of the Church's teaching, that the world was made and took its beginning at a certain time, and is to be destroyed on account of its wickedness." *De Princip.* Pref. 7.

*Commodianus*: "He himself (Antichrist) shall divide the globe into three ruling powers, when, moreover, Nero shall be raised up from hell, Elias shall first come to seal the beloved ones; at which things the region of Africa and the northern nation, the whole earth on all sides, for seven years shall tremble. But Elias shall occupy half the time, Nero shall occupy half. . . . And the

Latin conqueror shall then say: I am Christ whom ye always pray to," etc. *Instructions*, chaps. 41, 42.

*Methodius*: "For the whole world will be deluged with fire from heaven and burnt for the purpose of purification and renewal." *On Resurrection*, chap. 8.

*Lactantius*: "But in the midst of these evils there will arise an impious king hostile not only to mankind but to God, . . . for he will say that he is Christ, though he will be his adversary." *Epit. Div. Inst.* chap. 71. "He will constitute and call himself God, and will order himself to be worshiped as the *Son of God*. And power will be given him to do signs and wonders by the sight of which he may entice men to adore him. He will command fire to come down from heaven and the sun to stand and leave his course," etc. *Div. Inst.* vii. 17.

And as illustrating σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος:—

"When these shall so happen, then the righteous and the followers of truth shall separate themselves from the wicked and flee into solitudes. And when he hears of this the impious king inflamed with anger will come with a great army, and bringing up all his forces will surround all the mountain in which the righteous shall be situated that he may seize them. But they, when they shall see themselves to be shut in on all sides and besieged, will call upon God with a loud voice and implore the aid of heaven, and God shall hear them and send from heaven a great king to rescue and free them and destroy all the wicked with fire and sword." *Div. Inst.* vii. 17.

In a work on the end of the world appended to Hippolytus, though probably of later date, we find not only similar illustrations, but evidence of an attempt at elaboration of this chapter of "The Teaching" itself. In fact, as the designation of Antichrist as a Son of God seems now first to have occurred in "The Teaching," its appearance in Hippolytus and Lactantius must be accepted as evidence of the use of "The Teaching" by these authors.

The appended author says:—

"For in every respect that deceiver seeks to make himself appear like the *Son of God*." Chap. 20.

The elaboration spoken of is found in chapter seventh, where especially noticeable is ὅτι ποιμένες ὡς λύκοι γενήσονται, for στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους in "The Teaching."

Those interested can find a great amplification of the ideas of the time respecting Antichrist and his times in these last authors. They allowed their imaginations to run riot without any authority, unless derived from the imagery of the Revelation. But the point of critical interest is that what is so amplified in later works is but germinant in "The Teaching," which greatly confirms the early date of the latter.

It will be seen that we refer κατάθεμα to Antichrist or his work. There is very little linguistic authority for giving it an abstract sense. If we recall now what Professor J. R. Harris has done for ἐκπέρασις, the difficulties of this last chapter seem pretty much to disappear.

Thos. Stoughton Potwin.

HARTFORD, CT.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

REVELATION : ITS NATURE AND RECORD. By HEINRICH EWALD, late Professor in the University of Göttingen ; author of "The History of Israel," "Prophets of the Old Testament," etc. Translated from the German by the Rev. THOMAS GOADBY, B. A., President of the Baptist College, Nottingham. Pp. x., 482. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. New York : Scribner & Welford.

THE Translator's Preface tells us that "this first volume of Ewald's great and important work, 'Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott,' is offered to the English public as an attempt to read Revelation, Religion, and Scripture in the light of universal history and the common experience of man, and with constant reference to all the great religious systems of the world." Few men have been so well qualified for such a task as Ewald. His book is not easy reading, but is very suggestive. The style is vague and airy, but is a fit vehicle of lofty thought. Our notice of the book is not so much a criticism of it as a brief and broken outline of its train of thought.

Man is capable of receiving a revelation from God. It is therefore reasonable to expect that one be given him. Any question of it is a question of the existence and truth of God himself. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." But the revelation itself is to be distinguished from the natural product of the faculty that receives it. Revelation excites to activity the whole mind of man as nothing else does, but has its own peculiar contents. It began in the earliest ages of the world. Antiquity lived in the feeling that mankind could not do without the knowledge of God and his word. If Moses was the first inspired writer, he was not the first inspired man. Abraham is called a prophet. All Christians should think and pray and speak and act as oracles of God. (1 Peter iv. 11.)

"Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." They were holy men because they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and they were moved by the Holy Ghost because they were holy men. Their knowledge of God was in proportion to their holiness. The reception of revelation and obedience to it prepares the mind for receiving larger measures of it. "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will show them his covenant." One of the first and most certain results of the fear of God, or true piety, is its purifying and stimulating effect upon our knowledge of God. Itself a consequence of revelation, no sooner does it act but it influences revelation. It enlarges faith and the contents of faith, and begins an ever repeating, ever extending circle of reciprocal influence which increases the contents of revelation, and confirms the soul in the certainty of its truth. Ewald illustrates this by two examples, one taken from the earliest times of historic revelation, the other from near its close. The fear of God led the patriarch Job to order his life uprightly in accordance with the comparatively narrow circle of divine truths and precepts at first revealed to him. In the subsequent high conflict of his experience, this fear of God, never wholly lost amid his manifold trials, but constantly renewing itself in submissive obedience, enabled him more clearly to see what was before imperfect and obscure, until he came to see in wonderful certainty the light and salvation of a revelation incomparably surpassing all that he had pre-

vously known and believed. Just so the history of the Apostle Paul shows us the same round of influences. In him the fear of God, the old inherited fear of God which prompted his early childhood and led him always to do what he thought he ought to do, under the guidance of light from above which his soul was open to receive, enabled him to see aright the true nature, range, and purpose of the Old Testament, and also the whole compass and demands of the New, and following this out in all thoroughness, with Christian simplicity and godly sincerity, he continually received still higher and brighter light of an ever-increasing revelation of God, which purified and strengthened his old fear of God, and invested it with an energy, confidence, and joy, sufficient to transform and consecrate his whole life. Everywhere the Scripture attests this reciprocal action between revelation and religion.

Prominent in Hebrew history are the prophets, men who were interpreters of God's will, preachers of righteousness, foretellers of future events. One marked characteristic of them is their hopeful spirit. While denouncing in the severest language the guilt of the nation, and declaring impending ruin, it is still their sure hope, their firm conviction, that the community of the true God will never be utterly destroyed. Amid all the miseries and overthrows of the time, they foretell with the purest confidence and with inflexible certainty the surely coming perfection of those germs of the divine righteousness and life that are implanted in the race. They foresee the coming kingdom of God.

The consummation and completion of revelation is Jesus Christ. He is the key-stone of the entire edifice. Without Him its various parts would fall asunder and disappear. "Upon this wonderful structure, for the founding, defence, and further progress of which the whole antiquity had labored, he placed the still wanting last coping-stones and sheltering roofs, without which it must certainly have become disintegrated by exposure and have fallen into decay." "Christ himself is the unity whose light shines back from the New Testament upon all the earlier books." "Christ alone is the light that penetrates every part of it with his radiance." It is nowhere said in the New Testament that God appeared to Christ as He did to the prophets. He does not say as did the prophets, "Thus saith the Lord;" but He himself is the revelation of God, and declares his own authority: "Verily, verily, I say unto you." "Nowhere in the Bible can there be anything which we are not obliged to consider in his light, and to estimate as it stands related to him."

Other religions have their sacred books. If we compare them with the Bible we find many points of resemblance and of attraction, but still more of difference and repulsion. Even where, as in Buddhism, we find on the surface the greatest seeming resemblance, as in its doctrine of self-denial, a deeper examination shows a most fundamental difference. With all their flowers of Vedic song and beautiful moral sentiment, the Gentile sacred books are so much inferior in intrinsic value and charm of style to the books of the Old Testament that they can never come into any serious rivalry with them at all. "There is no danger to-day of our sinking into Brahminism or Buddhism, but there is great danger of our falling back into a Chinese condition of things." The spirit of atheism and the contempt of religion which mark the system of Confucius are the chief peril of our times.

Revelation has been given mostly in the line of one people, the Jews; not to be limited to them, but through them to be given to the whole

world. They were in a measure and for a time secluded from the rest of the world; yet, in fact, no people ever lived in such a constant connection with other nations as did the Jews. And in this connection, whether for the time friendly or hostile, they maintained the fundamental thought upon which their nation stood; they preserved the nucleus and aim for which they were associated, notwithstanding the great vicissitudes and distresses, errors and defeats, which marked their course. Historical research confirms universal tradition that the primitive religion of mankind was monotheism. The various heathen religions are degeneracies from better and nobler ideas of God. For centuries there was a tendency to such degeneracy among the Jewish people, but it was strongly and nobly resisted by God-fearing men, and averted by the divine discipline which the nation received.

As a consequence of the consummation of revelation in Christ, the Holy Spirit is present in humanity. Ewald writes of the Holy Spirit very much as if he meant by that expression the general consciousness of the community of God on earth, but he must also mean that the Spirit of God is the author of this consciousness, for he is careful to say that "what is to have authority as revelation must be derived, not from man, but from the mind and heart of God, and must correspond to his inmost will and nature as well pleasing to Him, but what in this respect is truth to the distinct apprehension of one man must be current as truth among all men equally." Revelation is perfected and finished with Christ. His spirit carries forward the work which He himself so powerfully began. The community of God on earth finds its consummation and perfection in Him. He brings to pass on earth the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, and we ought to give heed to the testimony of the Spirit as revealed in the consciousness of all believers.

Ewald regards the Ten Commandments as the earliest of all Scripture, the foundation on which rested the constitution of the Jewish people. His view of the authorship of several books of the Bible appears occasionally in this volume, and is quite different from the traditional view. But to suppose that a large part of the Pentateuch was written by some other than Moses, or that Isaiah, chapters xl.-lxvi., were written by some other than the writer of the earlier portions, and a hundred years later, or that the book of Daniel was written in the time of the Maccabees, does not at all affect the inspiration of these writings, or impair their value as records of divine revelation. The high significance of the Bible consists in this, that it gives us a perfectly authentic picture of the origin and development of all true revelation and religion in humanity. In this aspect of it, its worth can never be diminished, but can only increase with the progress of centuries and millenniums.

*Edward Robie.*

GREENLAND, N. H.

CORRESPONDENCIES OF FAITH AND VIEWS OF MADAME GUYON: A Comparative Study of the Unitive Power and Place of Faith in the Theology and Church of the Future. By HENRY T. CHEEVER. Pp. 292. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

THE aim of this book is to set forth the office of faith in the discipline and development of the Christian character. The believer is not to be satisfied with the appropriation of Christ; he is to enter by a continuous act of faith into union with Christ. The author does not accept without

qualification the doctrine of the Mystics, but he writes in hearty appreciation of their spirit and method, and is intent upon setting free the large truth involved in their doctrine.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part brings out the correspondencies in faith among the more spiritual believers, and shows that in this agreement through faith the Church has its only ground of unity. The second part is a sketch of the views and experiences of Madame Guyon. The third part, which is a review of Professor Upham's "The Life of Faith," treats of the law of spiritual training, the discipline which gains holiness through faith.

Dr. Cheever writes with vigor and enthusiasm, but he does not allow himself to pass over into unqualified statements. He is noticeably free from the fault, common to writers upon the Life of Faith, of depreciating or denouncing those who do not accept their views. Not that the author is not, on occasion, polemic; on the contrary he distributes his blows with good-natured impartiality. The reader is at no loss to know his opinion of the various theological parties of the present. He is evidently no admirer of "self-conscious, progressive orthodoxy or advanced thinking," albeit he is decidedly optimistic in regard to the spiritual tendencies of Unitarianism. But this is quite incidental to the purpose and spirit of the book. We believe that our author is right in his general conception of the spiritual need of the church. Protestantism has made little real advance in its use of faith beyond the doctrine of *justification* by faith. If we are still obliged to turn to the Mystics for the higher examples of the inner life of faith, it is because the church at large lacks completeness and elevation in its common types of spiritual devotion. The life of a Mystic like Madame Guyon has its lessons for the "Christian workers" of to-day. No one can read the record of her remarkable answers when under examination by Bossuet without the sense of quickening and refreshment. Dr. Cheever is to be congratulated, as are his readers, upon his most appreciative and discriminating review of the life of Madame Guyon.

Wm. J. Tucker.

**OUTLINES OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY.** Designed as a Text-Book and for private reading. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., Professor in Yale College. 8vo, pp. xvi., 674. New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co. \$3.00.

THE name of the author of this Compendium is a guarantee of its excellence. Such works are apt to be meagre, dry, and superficial. A mass of names and dates crowds upon the reader's attention; little if any room is allowed for incident or description; generalizations are vague and mechanical, and history becomes a set of tables. Professor Fisher has met the inherent difficulties of his task with remarkable skill and success. Large portions of the volume are thoroughly enjoyable in the reading. As a text-book it has the highest merits; a lucid order, firmness of outline, definiteness of statement, grace and flexibility with simplicity of diction, insight into the special significance of particular periods and movements with a constant sense of the meaning of history in its unity. Each division has a general introduction, and these preliminary surveys are drawn with peculiar skill. A convenient paragraphing, and a judicious use in captions and otherwise of various fonts and sizes



of type, greatly facilitate the use of the book for study and reference. The text is accompanied with thirty-two historical maps, which are well selected and distributed. It is noticeable that six of these record political changes which have occurred during the past sixteen years. This suggests a specially useful feature of the book, its clear account of very recent history.

In reproducing some of the maps (we have particularly in mind the series relating to Central Europe) names, colors, and lines are retained which are not explained by anything in the text, and by which teachers even may be puzzled unless they have access to such a work as Mr. Freeman's "Historical Geography of Europe." Is it not a mistake, in the lower map opposite page 328, to extend the yellow color beyond the broken line which marks the assured boundary between the Roman Empire and the Hungarian and Ottoman territories? Something more might be done, without crowding, in marking places where important battles were fought. For instance, Tincobrai might easily be indicated on the instructive map, "France and England A. D. 1154-1189." In the interest, moreover, of the hundreds of scholars who will doubtless thumb this admirable text-book, we could wish that the backs of the colored maps might be made a trifle deeper so that they would open more flatly, and that a stronger paper, or linen even, might be used for this purpose. In other respects the binding and the entire mechanical make-up are very satisfactory.

*Egbert C. Smyth.*

THE FIRST NAPOLEON. A Sketch, Political and Military. By JOHN CODMAN ROPES. Pp. 346. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1885.

A SHORT HISTORY OF NAPOLEON THE FIRST. By Professor JOHN ROBERT SEELEY. Pp. 336. London: Seeley & Co. 1886.

Two exceedingly worthful books. Each is a critical, entertaining, and, on the whole, discriminating narrative of Napoleon's entire public career. Ropes dwells much the more on its military aspect, Seeley on its political, which he discusses with the same ample knowledge of the period evinced in his "Life and Times of Stein." The books thus excellently supplement one another. Ropes gives of Napoleon's campaigns and battles probably the best brief, non-technical account extant. It cannot be commended too highly. No reader who enjoys expositions of strategy will lay this book down till he has seen its last line. Clear, easily comprehensible maps of battle-fields accompany and wonderfully aid the description. Seeley presents no maps. Ropes's observations upon political events are often deep and original, as are Seeley's, less often, upon military. Ropes appeals mainly to the ordinary intelligent reader; Seeley's discussion is rather of the nature of an essay for the political student, the last third of it being professedly this. As a keen, brief political *résumé* of Napoleon's times it has no equal. Each author's style is easy and clear, neither's everywhere correct. In paper and printing the English book is good, the American superb. Both have fine indexes. Ropes's view of Napoleon, as man, ruler, general, tends to be favorable, and, in the main, is so; of Seeley's precisely the reverse is to be said. Yet both histories are, speaking generally, candid, the one free from fulsome praise, the other from sweeping condemnation. Much accomplished by Napoleon, which Ropes refers to genius, Seeley ascribes to circumstance.

Seeley agrees with Ropes that their subject was in no wise the monster of selfishness and wickedness, the foe to liberty and to man, which Lanfrey and Madame de Remusat represent. When he enslaved Venice he was not yet supreme, but the servant of the French Republic. For toying with the national heart of the Tyrolese he himself was to blame, but it was only another of the many such acts with which those honored monarchs, Frederick the Great, Joseph II., and Catherine of Russia had made the eighteenth century familiar. He disregarded international law. So did the Republic; so did the allies. They had, for instance, no ground in international law for opening war upon him when he returned from Elba. He, as a sovereign ruler, had conquered France. Napoleon was cruel. Yes; Lord Nelson was cruel also. Napoleon had many wars, but hardly one of them did he begin. As to his liberalism, Ropes maintains, with great vigor and success, that it was no mere pretense at any time, and was never abandoned. Napoleon was, doubtless, not a Washington. He sought glory, and in his quest therefor too often forgot France. But he took from France no liberty which she ever really possessed, while he rendered solid and permanent that political betterment which the Revolution had brought her, but which she bade fair soon to lose. If he smote down republican forms, it was because he believed it proved by events that the people were not yet ready for them, — like Cæsar and Cromwell in this, both of whom, critical historians are more and more agreed, really wished liberty. In fact, that Napoleon was understood to be the champion of liberalism was precisely what all along caused the deadly hostility of absolutist Europe against him. It is idle to speak of his having intended mere conquest, like an Attila. Had this been his lust, he would certainly have tried to avoid embattling against himself the whole world at once. This relative reasonableness and unselfishness on Napoleon's part, so urged by Ropes, Seeley, in a spirit bespeaking the Englishman more than the historian, hesitates to admit, though hardly venturing to deny. Seeley, indeed, is convinced that good, vast and lasting, came from the French stirring-up of Europe, but would have us believe that the seeds of it all were planted by the Republic, and that they would have grown and fruited far better under the tending of another, Moreau, for instance, than they did. Moreau is, for Seeley, the model French hero and patriot of that age. Another theory of Seeley's, which seems to spring more from national spirit than from historical acumen, is that Napoleon's central purpose was, from first to last, the conquest or the ruin of England, he fighting Austria, Prussia, and Russia only because England's allies, and as a means of humbling England. Ropes, too, it were dangerous to follow in all points. He excuses faults too easily. In particular, we think, he goes to an extreme in his endeavor to exculpate Napoleon respecting the death of the Duc d'Enghien, although his argument has tempered our judgment on this matter. But Ropes's philosophy of the fall of Napoleon is sound. The great man, beguiled by the splendor of his early campaigns, was led fatally to distrust and disuse peaceful measures. If he did not court wars, he did too little to shun them; too readily hazarding all upon the sword. Meantime he had been schooling the world in the arts of camp and field, training up military leaders for his foes. Worst of all, his own military work grew careless. Had he fought his reserve at Borodino, as von Moltke did his the third day at Metz, the Russian army would have been annihilated. He should have known Blücher too well, especially after Ligny,

to take it for granted that he had gone home. However, neither Blücher nor Wellington defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. Gneisenau, Blücher's chief of staff, deserves that glory, — a fact which both our authors miss, but which von Treitschke sets forth in detail. Old Blücher had fallen under his horse as the day closed at Ligny, and was supposed dead. The command devolved on Gneisenau, who — it was the decisive factor in the mighty turn which history now took — determined to retreat on Wellington instead of toward Prussia.

*E. Benj. Andrews.*

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**A SANSKRIT PRIMER.** Based on the *Leitfaden für den Elementar-Cursus des Sanskrit* of Professor GEORG BÜHLER, of Vienna. By EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY, of Columbia College, New York. Pp. xii., 230. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1885. \$1.50. Introduction price \$1.25.

THOSE who began the study of Sanskrit twenty years ago, and struggled painfully through the elements with such grammars as the time afforded, and sought, with a courage supported by worthy aims, to read the literature with helps like Bopp's Glossary and Benfey's Dictionary, may well lament that they were born a score of years too soon, in view of the multitude of works that now smooth the difficulties of the way. Those were the days of stage-coaches; these of Pullman cars. First, we have the great Petersburg lexicon complete, with other special lexical helps too numerous to mention; next, Professor Whitney's Sanskrit grammar, which has for the first time put the facts of the language in scientific and apprehensible shape; thirdly, Lanman's "Reader," with its well-selected specimens of the literature and excellent vocabulary; and lastly, as milk for babes, Perry's "Primer." Surely, Mr. Burritt's dream of "Sanskrit for the fireside" is about to be realized!

The Sanskrit Primer, of which we are to speak more particularly, is a revision of Professor Bühler's "*Leitfaden für den Elementar-Cursus des Sanskrit*," which was published in Vienna in 1883. The original work was an attempt, already begun in the schools of India, to apply to the learning of Sanskrit the so-called "practical method," which has become so familiar to students of Latin, Greek, and the modern languages of Europe. Unfortunately, however, as we learn from the American editor's Preface, — for we have no copy of the German work by us, — Professor Bühler adhered to the unscientific mode of classifying the material of the language which has come to us from the Hindu grammarians, and has been, until recently, such an obstacle to the ready acquisition of their literary tongue. Hence, the task which Mr. Perry has undertaken is to combine the practical portion of the German scholar's work with the more rational grammatical scheme elaborated by Professor Whitney.

We have, first, an Introduction of twenty-three pages, half of which is devoted to the alphabet, as written and spoken, and the remainder to declension, conjugation, etc., in the briefest possible outline. Next follow forty-five lessons, in each of which is doled out a portion of the grammar, accompanied with a vocabulary and typical sentences to be translated into English from Sanskrit, or the reverse. Taken together, they are designed to convey so many of the elementary facts of the language as it is judged the pupil ought to know before beginning to read a continuous text. The euphonic laws, which are so prominent a feature of Sanskrit grammar, are set forth mainly in the first thirteen lessons, while

declension and conjugation are taught *pari passu* through the whole. Naturally there is little allusion in a work of this kind to the earlier usages of the language, which the student will come to know farther on; but two remarks occur to us to make in this connection. First, the statement on page 16 might easily be misunderstood as implying that in the Veda the "aorist" is used in the sense of a "perfect" *only*; but, in fact, there are many passages where it has precisely the ordinary signification of the Greek aorist. Again, regarding the position of relative clauses as stated on page 80, instances are not wanting in the Veda where the relative clause is inserted into the antecedent clause, though they certainly are not common.

The language of the grammatical statements in this book is, in small part, Professor Perry's own, but is taken bodily, with condensation and trivial change here and there, from Whitney's grammar; so that, to borrow a term from Hindu life, the editor's office has been chiefly that of the *ghatak* or "match-maker," to marry the works of the two eminent scholars. This delicate service he has certainly performed with judgment and tact. Two vocabularies — Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit — and a brief appendix close the book.

Our general impression of the work, though we have not had leisure to scan every detail, is decidedly favorable. It will be found a convenience to teachers of Sanskrit in elementary instruction, and especially such to persons who wish to acquire the language without a teacher. We desire to add a single remark by way of caution. It has long been our impression that the matter of "primers" and "lessons" is sometimes carried to excess, and the pupil kept too long in swaddling bands. Our choice would be, as soon as he is fairly on his feet, to entice him, without long delay, to begin to make excursions into some easy text. With a teacher to help over the hard places the interest is best sustained in this way.

John Avery.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED.

*Brown, Thurston, & Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, Portland, Me.* The History of the Anti-slavery Cause in State and Nation. By Rev. Austin Willey, editor of anti-slavery paper during the conflict. 16mo, pp. xii., 503. 1886. \$2.00.

*Ginn & Co., Boston.* A Sanskrit Primer. Based on the Leitfaden für den Elementar-Cursus des Sanskrit of Professor Georg Bühler of Vienna. By Edward Delavan Perry, of Columbia College, New York. Pp. xii., 230. 1885.

*Carl Schoenhof, Boston.* Missionsstunden von R. W. Dietel, Pfarrer in Mül- sen St. Jacob. II. Heft. Pp. 148. Leipzig: Verlag von Johannes Lehmann. 1886.

*Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.* What does History teach? By John Stuart Blackie. 16mo, pp. 123. 1886. 75 cents; — The Fight for Missouri. From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon. By Thomas L. Sneed, A. D. C. of the Governor: Acting Adjutant-General of the Missouri State Guard, etc., etc. With maps. 16mo, pp. viii., 322. 1886. \$1.50; — Letters to Dead Authors. By Andrew Lang. 16mo, pp. vi., 234. 1886. \$1.00.

*Scribner & Welford, New York.* Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students. Edited by Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D. D. Candler on the Work of the Holy Spirit. Pp. 118.

*J. H. Smart & Co., Kansas City.* The Missouri Christian Lectures. Delivered at Columbia, 1884, and Brownsville, 1885. 16mo, pp. v., 354. 1886.

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